

R.B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (1852-1936)

A STUDY OF HIS SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK

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TO MOTHER

WHO WITH A HUSBAND BLIND

AND THREE CHILDREN

BORE THE BRUNT

PREFACE.

A dead writer is not inert - mere dead mutton waiting to be carved into graduated slices for judicious academic palates. In the mystery of his being he remains as elusive as any living personality. R.B. Cunningham Graham was more elusive than most. In the indebtedness I am glad to acknowledge to my supervisors, Rev. Prof. W.S. Tindal, O.B.E., D.D., and Very Rev. Prof. Hugh Watt, D.D., I would give high place to their patience in allowing me time to gain some comprehension of his whole being before I considered particular aspects of his outlook.

It is of considerable help when the subject of a thesis promises that the examination of his works will afford a reliable guide to his convictions, even when his statements are indirect to the subject. This encouragement is mine. In a Preface to "His People" Cunningham Graham says of the writer: " . . in writing he sets down (perhaps unwittingly) the story of his life, and as he does so, makes it worth reading only by chronicling all his impressions of the world quite honestly, as if he were alone upon a desert island (as in fact he is) and he were writing on the sand." In another Preface, that to his book "Progress", he enlarges upon this theme: " . . he who writes a preface to his book describes his own interior life, or, without wishing, lets it peep out from the depths of his own being, . . ."; " . . such revelations of a man, made incidentally and, as it were, upon the way, are worth a thousand/

thousand storehouses of facts. Mere facts are in the reach of any fool to prose about . . ."; " . . . the spoken word can be manipulated, so as to conceal the speaker's personality, but when a writer takes his pen in hand, in spite of all that he can do, it is straight manifest." He believes authors have an instinct to keep intact from other eyes a "secret garden in their souls" which is nobody's business; otherwise they stand revealed to the careful reader. Frank Harris has well described him as "an amateur writer of genius". It is to my advantage that, not only in prefaces, where he felt specially free, but all through his works, he stepped aside to make remarks on all sorts of subjects lightly connected with his theme, letting us peep into his soul through windows of half-unconscious self revelation, where a professional would have been more ordered, and more careful of the reception of his comments.

These pregnant asides, taken with more substantial contributions, make it clear that, although his thought is not deductive or logical in form, it is coherent. He emerges from examination as a social thinker of power and stature. His religious outlook does not appear so well-knit, for which reasons will be adduced.

Because of the limitations of the typewriter, I have left accents of foreign words to be understood, in the text of the thesis. I have also tempered the subject's vagrant punctuation to the shorn reader!

That I have been allowed to examine aspects of Cunningham Graham's/

Graham's significance which have not previously been given attention, and which may make this thesis a contribution towards a fresh perspective on his life, I owe to the Ph. D Committee who allowed me to tackle such an interesting subject. That I have had the means to come to the subject through the examination of rare documents not previously given full scrutiny, I owe very largely to Admiral Sir Angus Cunninghame Graham, K.B.E., C.B., whose kindness gave a substance to this thesis which must otherwise have been lacking. I am under obligation to Miss Roger and the staff of Dunfermline Public Library for their persistence in tracking down scarce copies of Cunninghame Graham's works; and to the staffs of the National Library and New College Library for their help. I gladly acknowledge invaluable typing assistance offered by Miss Cox and Miss Gorman, Rosyth. Dr Allan, Rosyth, kindly read the proofs. Tullis Russell & Co., Ltd., with whom I started my ministry as an industrial chaplain, supplied the paper on which the thesis is written, 'for the sake of auld lang syne'.

The other main acknowledgement I should make is to Professor West, Cunninghame Graham's first biographer, who, with imagination and shrewd judgment, has collected in Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, New Hampshire, U.S.A. the best ^{public} collection of his works. He, too, allowed me to use rare material and gave me his personal encouragement. As we talked together in the Library, sharing our enthusiasm for this man who had brought us together - he a citizen of the Dollar Republic, which Cunninghame Graham castigated/

castigated as the inheritors of the worst of Puritanism, myself one of the myopic, deluded, deluding clergy whom he counted irrelevant to life - we could but wonder what the Laird himself would think, if he were looking down on us.

Or up. We must not anticipate the conclusions of the second part of this thesis.

I.M.F.

December, 1955.

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BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE.

G.K. Chesterton in his Autobiography says: "Cunninghame Graham achieved the adventure of being Cunninghame Graham." This comment is apt. His thought and life are intimately interdependent, and neither ran slow. In his published material, he asserts, he reveals all of himself which is for the public eye. It tells of places he has visited, of people with whom he mixed, and nearly always of events which he has seen or in which he has been embroiled. His outlook is redolent of the distilled essence of reflection on many abrupt encounters with nature and man. The past lived for him. His ears were as attuned to dead footfalls as to the intrusive, rumbustious presence of the living. To understand his outlook we have to know his family history, and catch a scent of the tradition of those places which influenced his outlook - from the misty border-land of Menteith to the hot pampas of South America.

His family had royalty and adventure in its blood, and though it was stoutly Scottish, it was not parochially so. Spain especially mingled its blood and tradition.

Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham was born on the 24th. of May, 1852, the eldest of a family of three, and, as eldest, the claimant to the Earldoms of Strathearn, Menteith and Airth on the side of his father, William Cunninghame Graham Bontine of Ardoch and Gartmore. His mother was the Hon. Anne Elphinstone Fleeming. Through her he inherited his Spanish blood, her mother being Spanish. His grandfather on his mother's side was Admiral Elphinstone Fleeming, friend of Bolivar. Cunninghame Graham was by birth a Scottish nobleman, the descendant of kings.¹ Of this he was neither proud nor ashamed, but always simply conscious. It was as a natural aristocrat/

1. His descent was from Robert II. through the King's second wife, Euphemia Ross. The Stewart line derived from the first marriage to Elizabeth Mure.

aristocrat, who looked and lived the part, that he made his mark in those spheres which claimed his attention.

Among his ancestors were men who brought past times and far places into his family heritage. His great-great-grandfather, Nicol Graham of Gartmore, not only refused Rob Roy blackmail, but captured him, and would have hanged him out of hand, had Rob not escaped. To Cunninghame Graham's imagination, in the borderland of Menteith between Highlands and Lowlands, the clash of reivers and defenders still sounded through the swirling mists. Nicol Graham's son had sought his fortune in Jamaica, and then returned to play a notable part in the passing of the Reform Bill. He is the "Doughty Deeds" Graham of the famous poem. Cunninghame Graham admired this forbear's forthrightness - (though he did not condone his treatment of coloured peoples) - the man-to-man attitude of his letters to superiors who might have expected greater obsequiousness, and his social policy (his election programme is still preserved in a family Scrap Book). Cunninghame Graham's far-travelled grandfather, Admiral Elphinstone Fleeming, when challenged about an alteration made to his ship without due authorisation, calmly asked for all his back pay (which had gone unclaimed), and heard no more of the matter! He was a man of swift and firm decision allied with daring and resource. An uncle, Major Douglas Cunninghame Graham, had spent some time resident in Ankober and his tales further stimulated in the young Cunninghame Graham a longing for adventure abroad.

A dominant influence in his early life came from his Spanish grandmother, who lived at Ryde. From her he learned to lisp Castilian. Occasionally he visited Spain, but his perfect knowledge of the Spanish language derived principally from subsequent travels and concentrated application.¹ To some he appeared to have an/

1. According to the testimony of his nephew, Admiral Sir Angus Cunninghame Graham, recorded during a Scottish Chapbook broadcast on May 23rd., 1952.

an air more Spanish than Scottish. He loved Spain for its Latinity (how rarely appreciated by Teutons), its courtesy of manner, its sense of social equality, its backwardness, the art of its people of taking the sun as if it shone for them alone. His later education was at Harrow, where he excelled at athletics, and Brussels, where he learned French and fencing.

His introduction to South America came through the insight of a mother who was to prove an understanding companion to him throughout most of his life. She died in 1925, at the age of 96. His father was determined that he should be a soldier - and, through a fall from a horse which had injured his brain and unbalanced his temperament, he was an ill man to oppose. Robert was as determined that he would not follow the profession of arms. The family fortunes had suffered greatly through Major Bontine's injury, which occasioned recklessness in spending. His mother urged on her husband the one point against soldiering which was likely to tell - that their elder son might recoup their fortune by ranching in South America. Robert went, and so became the Don Roberto of history - the daring horseman, the man of quick decision and action, the champion of neglected and ill-treated races, the protagonist of right as he saw it, wherever he saw it.

The years 1870 to 1878 were spent, except for short revisits, in South America. He tried his hand at ranching and cattle and horse dealing. He attempted to float a company to trade in Yerba maté. He was an unwilling conscript in a Civil War. The only fortune which he improved was that which is told in knowledge of the ways of Gaucho and Indian, of the lore of the pampas¹, and of how to face adversity.

In 1879 he married Gabrielle, a Chilean, the daughter of a French/

1. His wide ranging activities gave him knowledge of the pampas which could not be matched by the natives.

French father, Don Francisco Jose de la Balmondiere, and a Spanish mother. She is usually described as a Roman Catholic, although some Roman Catholic reviewers of her permanent claim to memory, a loving work on St. Teresa, disown her. She was the kind of person only too readily dismissed as a "gifted eccentric". She was certainly gifted in an unusual and varied fashion. She was a poet, and artist of quality in water colours, an authoress and sensitive translator;¹ a teacher of French, painting and the guitar; a botanist, who left to Stirling museum a notable collection of Scottish mosses; a good business woman, an excellent billiard player, an excellent shot, a hardy traveller under the most primitive conditions. An eccentric? It is eccentric to smoke yourself to death. It is eccentric to be absorbed in the past, obsessed with the desire to become the heir, through death, of the only true, lovely, just world which lies beyond. But the word is too much a word of dismissal in terms of standards which we take from our 'normality', to which we arrogate authority. She was a mystic, whose spirit seemed more attuned to another plane of reality than this, and who judged, realistically, this world according to that secret insight. She hated the drabness and uniformity of an industrialized civilisation, and this played its part in throwing her back into the spontaneous and chivalric past, and in stimulating her longing for an order of glory and justice beyond the power of this earth to furnish. She had a great compassion for the poor, and indeed for all underprivileged creatures. She was a fierce critic of the social order - not in acute analysis or constructive suggestions - but in denunciation of injustice and misery. The husband, to whom she was an intelligent and understanding companion (Tschiffely's judgment), had his artistic sensibility sharpened by her, had the lance with which he drove/

1. Of "The Dark Night of the Soul", by St. John of the Cross.

drove at social wrongs steel-tipped by her kindred compassion, had his understanding of life in different times as seen through the eyes of different races enlarged by her. Her business capacity (surely it is a most rare mystic who excels at keeping accounts) was a great asset to him in the struggle to save the Gartmore estate. Before her mysticism, and her confidence about life beyond death he bowed his head, uncomprehending but reverent. When he speaks of death and of the interior vision, he speaks as one who knows some have a key to which he has not been made heir, and the world to which it opens may be the world of genuine reality, though he cannot perceive it.

He met Gabrielle in France, when he was called back from South America because of his father's serious illness. He eloped with her, finding her lonely and unhappy. In the year of his marriage he brought his bride to Texas to engage in the hard life of ranching.¹ They conceived the plan of taking a waggon train of cotton to Mexico City and selling it at a substantial profit. Among many hazards, especially of Indians, they achieved the journey, but when they reached their objective had to sell the cotton on a falling market. When they returned to Texas, an Indian raid wrecked their ranch. In straits, they undertook any kind of work which was offered, Gabrielle usually teaching art and the guitar and Don Roberto horsebreaking, becoming Professor Bontini, fencing master in Mexico City, acting as Spanish interpreter on a buffalo-hunting expedition. In this period his social outlook began to be expressed in letters. The equality of men, the rights of native races occupied his mind. He also began to inveigh against institutional religion. This was to become typical of him - this distaste for most social expressions of religion, combined with an intense concern for the vindication of good and the exposure of evil.

In 1883 his father died and he returned to inherit Gartmore and debts of £100,000. It was a heartbreak to both Gabrielle and himself, and a blow to his family consciousness, that Gartmore had to be/

1. The fact that his mother had a reserved attitude to the marriage is indicated by the absence of any reference to Gabrielle's existence in Cunninghame Graham's Texas letters, except for one headed 'With Gabrielle and 'Jack''. Jack was his dog.

be sold some twenty years later, in spite of the hard work they undertook to put the estate on a sound financial basis. Cunninghame Graham never revisited Gartmore, the wrench was so great.

We find him making his political debut in 1885 when he unsuccessfully stood as Liberal candidate for the North-West Division of Lanarkshire. In 1886 he was returned for this constituency and was a colourful member of a colourless House until 1892. In that year the Liberal party refused him because of his trenchant criticism of Gladstone, and he stood as a Socialist in the Camlachie Division of Glasgow, coming third in the voting and never returning to a seat in Parliament. Among the stormy distinctions of this time are his suspensions from the House of Commons, his imprisonment for his part in the "Battle of Trafalgar Square" and his expulsion from France following an uncompromising denunciation of the killing of 15 people by troops at a May Day demonstration. He was surely among the most uncompromising persons the House has ever known.

The years which followed were quieter in their public impact. They form a hinge in his life. His political incursions hereafter, though notable, were mainly local, until in 1928 he turned his full attention to the demand for Home Rule for Scotland. In 1895 he began to write, and he continued travelling. It is significant of the genuine scholarship and mutual adventurousness of Gabrielle and himself that they worked out from Pliny's writings the possible site of a gold mine in Spain, went prospecting and found the workings.¹ But they found no gold of easy access. In 1897 Cunninghame Graham, without Gabrielle, went in disguise to Morocco, to attempt to reach Tarudent, a forbidden city in the Sus. Again he failed. This time his failure succeeded unusually. Not only did it further temper his own character and widen his experience and sympathy, but it produced an acknowledged masterpiece in the literature of travel "Mogreb-el-Acksa" (The Far West). Once again he had been made a prisoner, this time by the Kaid of Kintafi in his castle in Thelata-el-Jacoub. He escaped death by answering stoutly, when challenged/

1. In 1894.

challenged concerning his being a Christian, that he was a U.P. by religion (this sufficiently baffled the Kaid to make him stay his hand) and by getting a message secretly, in time, to the British authorities. Gabrielle had produced the first edition of "Santa Teresa" in 1894 after many journeys in Spain in which she devotedly followed the footsteps of the Saint.

In 1906 Gabrielle died. Whether they were together, or whether their different interests had led to separate journeyings, a strong bond of mutual understanding had bound them. They had had no children. The literary works which immediately followed were probably written partly to appease a husband's loneliness and sorrow. Don Roberto dug his wife's grave with his own hands, in the old priory on the island of Inchmahome in the lake of Menteith, and would often return to smoke a cigarette and meditate by her burial place. After this he was much at Ardoch or travelling with his mother. He had a large number of friends who were glad to give him their company.

At the outbreak of the Great War, he (who had been pro-Boer in an earlier war), after a fierce outburst in Trafalgar Square on the iniquity of going to war, unsuccessfully tried to persuade the army to accept him as a Rough Rider. Instead he spent most of the war years in the Argentine and Columbia tapping the horse and cattle resources of these countries for the British government. Once again his appetite for South American life and history was whetted. His experiences provided further grist to the literary mill. In 1918, half-heartedly, I feel, for elections had become an "infernal folly"¹ to him, he stood as a Liberal for Stirling and Clackmannan and/

1. He describes them thus in a letter to Neil Munro on the eve of the poll.

and was defeated. In 1925, at the age of 73, he made the first of two journeys to Venezuela, and set out to explore the llanos (the plains) alone. These excursions led to further historial writings.

Home Rule for Scotland had been one of the earliest planks of his platform. To this he was to give primacy in the political interest of his last years. Dr. John McCormick has described to me Cunninghame Graham's first contact with the few adventurous spirits who nominated him candidate for the Lord Rectorship of Glasgow University in 1928. He met them in a room lit by candles - all the lighting that they could afford. Their eagerness and impecuniousness appealed to his romantic love of challenge. Their conviction was already his. He was an ally from that moment. He surprised even his supporters by losing to Stanley Baldwin by the narrow margin of only 66 votes. In 1928 he became the first President of the National Party of Scotland. He helped to cement the alliance of the National Party with the Scottish Party in 1934 and became Hon. President of the Scottish National Party. He was also made Hon. President of the P.E.N., and presided at the International Congress in Edinburgh in 1934, recognised widely by this time as a literary artist of merit.

He died in 1936, on a visit to the Argentine, and is buried beside his wife in Inchmahome.

Not only for the convenience of the writer, but also for reasons adduced, a fairly clear line of demarcation can be drawn between the main expressions of his social and of his religious outlook. Apart from letters to friends, which had a wider scope, his public utterances up till the mid - 1890's - speeches from platforms and in Parliament, articles and letters in/

in newspapers - all had a direct social and political bearing. True, the judgments made then were confirmed in later life. He continued to speak from public platforms and in the open air. He turned aside, whenever he cared (for he wrote not to please his audience but to please himself) to make observations on social and political life, in his sketches and histories. But his activity was not so continuous or so intensive - he had acquired a "scunner" at politics. Nor did he catch the public eye as he had previously. Even when resurgent Scottish Nationalism was capturing the imagination of Scotsmen, very few of his speeches were recorded. We depend very much on declarations made up to 1892, and for confirmation or adjustment of his outlook, and in some cases for more general social theory, on the many asides thrown off later in his books. On the other hand, it was not till he began writing that he put into some coherent form the expression of his philosophy of life. That outlook which comes generally under the heading "religious" is found principally in his public and private writings from about 1895 on.

He had friends with whom he kept in touch all over the world. They included John Galsworthy, George Bernard Shaw, Olive Schreiner, Oscar Wilde, Whistler, Max Beerbohm, William Morris, Keir Hardie, John Burns, Parnell - but these are only the better known names of a great host. With three he maintained a very special friendship: W.H. Hudson, Wilfred Scawen Blunt, and Joseph Conrad. His friendship meant more than that of any other to Conrad, who wrote in sensitive appreciation of his person and works.

Cunninghame Graham was never the member of any particular artistic
or/

or literary clique. In conversation, in literary output, in scholarship he could hold his own with any of the bright lights of his day. He held no academic degree. Yet his scholarship, though it was not formal, was wide-ranging and profound. He read much in Scottish, English, French, Spanish and Latin literature and history. His learning is never made obtrusive, and would go unnoticed if the reader were not attentive. He had a large, well-used library, the books copiously marked, his memory of their contents so exact that he could turn up a reference without delay, even should it be twenty years since he last read it. In his writing we have the free-flowing communication of a well-read, free-coursing mind, rich in experience of life.

SOCIAL OUTLOOK.

The Setting of the Stage.

The context in which Cunninghame Graham lived his life must be known in order that his social outlook may be appreciated. This is not because the times which knew him largely shaped that life. Though no man, whether his voice be that of assent or dissent, can strip himself of his contemporaneity, to a remarkable extent Cunninghame Graham stood outside his times. He had an Elizabethan love of action, a mediaeval love of contemplation, and a twentieth century social consciousness. Rather it is because he seized hold of life. His thought and experience make up one life as blood and muscle make one body.

We remember, then, that he was an aristocrat and yet knew what it was to live the hard way. He had learned to appreciate the outlook of other people early, and had personal knowledge of many forms of society in different parts of the world. He was able to compare the "glories" of Victorian industrial society with the "backwardness" of Arab, African and Indian, and Western civilisation with other civilizations. He had a spur to his love of the beautiful and detestation of the sordid and unjust in his wife's artistic sensitiveness and social concern. He was a politician and agitator. He was continually in touch with other choice and courageous minds, and throughout his life with ordinary people in many countries.

He came to grips with Victorian society when some of the fruits of the bleak austerity the workers knew in early Victorianism had been mitigated. Usually the extent of this mitigation is exaggerated. Men were still working eighteen hours per day on the railways, earning but

5/- per week chain-making in Cradley Heath, starving in the streets of London. The unemployed, victims of sweated labour, prostitutes - cast off and denied any alternative life by the society whose fastidious lust had brought them to this pass - formed a swarming underworld of misery in London. In the Highlands of Scotland the crofters were deprived of their most elementary rights, and in the mines and factories of the Lowlands hours were long and wages minute. If men did not have money and status, - if they belonged to the real proletariat, - the business of staying alive absorbed almost all their forces and set boundaries to imagination and protest.

But the opportunity for fresh criticism and reorganisation of society existed. In some trades, especially those attached to the older craft unions, conditions had improved; and through such agencies as Mechanics Institutes workmen had gained some technical and cultural education (they still accepted, on the whole, the political and economic beliefs of their employers). The attitude to education had altered. Distrust of the mob, which had produced strong pressure in earlier Victorianism against the education of the masses, had waned, although it could still be brought to life by riots. In 1870 appointment to the Civil Service was made open to those who qualified by examination. Although the advantage of this seemed very limited at first, the long-term effect was to clear the way to high office in the land for any intelligent child, irrespective of class or influence. Industry itself had lost the more ruthless self-made industrialists. They were being replaced by Limited Liability Companies and third-generation proprietors, who/

who were more amenable to negotiation and more prepared to work to customary accepted standards. New ideas burst old wineskins. Marx and the Fabians¹ challenged the recognised political and economic theories of their time. Shaw was beginning to put dynamite in the cracks of the old society. Webb was initiating the policy of permeation which made almost every institution and newspaper the servant of a new conception of social life. State intervention, accepted by the early Victorians, rejected by the mid-Victorians, was now becoming recognised as a necessary means for clearing up the muddle of disease, dirt, death and despair which a laissez-faire policy had encouraged. In 1885 the franchise was extended to resident ratepayers and certain classes of servants. The door was open to a politically enfranchised democracy to become socially and economically enfranchised. The longstanding Victorian trinity of power, Crown, Lords and Commons, trembled for its continuing dominance.

All this was potentiality and hope. In 1885, when Cunningham Graham undertook his first incursion into party politics, this hope had to be set against a very real despair among the masses. The craft unions, which were to some extent also Friendly Societies, were careful of their funds, and chary of risking battle with the capitalists. Moreover they opposed the new stirrings towards extension of Trade Unionism among/

1. Except for Hyndman (whom Marx himself disclaimed) and a few others, Marx is not regarded at this time as the protagonist of a philosophy which must be accepted or rejected in toto. Much is firmly accepted, much is firmly rejected. The Fabians, for instance, acknowledged their debt, but they quite rejected his theory of surplus value, his impersonal rigidity and dogmatism, his inhuman logic of ends and means.

among the semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Speeches in Hansard make it clear that confidence that the economic system was self-regulating still ruled in higher entrenched circles of thought. The Liberals, the hope of the proletariat, began to appear as "old priest writ large"; they were more fervent champions of the new wealthy merchant class over against the old landowning class, than liberators of the poor.

I. THE DEMOCRACY.

Alternatives: Majority Rule.

Out of a rare insight into his friend's character, W.H.

Hudson wrote:

"Certainly you are unique among English writers and your singularity is most evident when you write of the people of other races because of the union in you of two rare qualities - intense individuality, and detachment, which enables you to identify yourself even with those who are most unlike us."¹

This capacity for implication and detachment, for seeing men and societies with a direct, personal vision, without the cataract of class or national prejudice is an important clue to the understanding of Cunninghame Graham. He is able to speak for peoples and classes, alien in their convictions, and mode of life, as if he were one of themselves; and to do this when these convictions stand in contradiction to one another as well as to our Western manner of living. He will not burke the truth as he sees it merely for the sake of uniformity.

Democracy in the form which was accepted in Victorian Britain in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was but one social framework for a people's life among those he knew. In Scotland's breathing past, the clan system had demonstrated the virtue of lands held in common, and a personal relationship set up between chief and clansmen as of a father to a family.² In his South American wanderings he had come across the derelict churches and townships of the Jesuit missions, whose history he later described in "A Vanished Arcadia". There he found/

1. W.H. Hudson's letters. Letter undated: probably 1902.

2. He extols the system in an election address at Coatbridge, probably dated 1885 or 1886, preserved in a Scrap Book.

found traces of a paternalistic organisation of life, the Indians accepting some form of "thought - suggested representation"- which he ruefully claims would be an advantage, if a fair method of applying it to County Councils in his own day could only be found!¹.

Like W.S. Blunt, he savoured the civilization of the Moors, and found it rich in many things which could teach our Western civilization. Of the tribal system in Morocco he wrote:

"The unit is the tribe, and not the individual and what we understand by freedom and democracy, would seem to be the grossest form of tyranny on earth..... hardly a Moor alive would change the desultory Eastern tyranny.... for the six monthly visit of the tax collector as in Algeria".².

This kind of inside appreciation but underlines his freedom from the insularity and national arrogance which Charles Dickens caricatured in the person of Mr. Podsnapp, and which characterised even much of the social protest of the 1880s and 1890s, (the Fabians had no extensive range of international sympathy). Cunninghame Graham brought to an understanding of democracy in Britain an undogmatic outlook which counted men so variously created that no one system could express and comprehend their freedom. He insists:

"...men can be happy under conditions which no writer on political economy would recognise as fit for human beings".³.

When he deals with democracy in Britain he is equipped to look full in the face those elements which do not belong to its accepted theory/

1. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 200.
3. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 208.

2. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 44.

theory.

Democracy never meant to him the rule of a majority just because it is a majority. He fights for the full enfranchisement of men politically, but recognises that "....a man can vote and be a slave,"¹ - an economic slave, the slave of false values and cultural bankruptcy. In prefaces he flays the public for its want of wisdom, taste and vision.² He evidences at times "great scorn of his audience"³ when he speaks at meetings. Frank Harris gives us this glimpse of his platform appearance:

"....There was disdain of his audience in every word, in his attitude even; he had an artist's contempt for their lack of vision, an adventurer's scorn for their muddy, slow blood."⁴

The task of fashioning a democracy had for him an implication far beyond that of registering majority opinion as it obtained at a given time. The attitude is rejected with scorn which counts majorities righteous in their judgments (here he stands with Carlyle):

".....anything which can secure a majority of votes is sent from heaven, for God Himself is quite uncertain of the justice of his acts till men have voted on them".⁵

he says in "Mogreb-el-Acksa". The gain of representative government will be of little significance unless men also are servants of truth and justice, and bring to fruition the graces of their humanity.

Cunninghame Graham set before himself a two-fold task: to see/

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1. "In Jesuit Land" W.H. Koebel. Introduction.
 2. E.g. in Prefaces to his first two published books.
 3. Mr. Thomas Kerr, ex-Lord Provost of Glasgow, in an interview.
 4. In his short sketch in "Contemporary Portraits" (3rd. series).
 5. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p.57.

see to it that the people's word was law, and to see to it that the people's word was worthy of being law. He was an agitator in Parliament, on behalf of their rights. He was an agitator all through the country, pleading for their responsible, unselfish, imaginative assumption of power. His scorn in speaking to them was, I believe, often a deliberate way of rousing them from complacency and inarticulateness, but he demanded an impossibly high standard of the electorate. Conrad wrote to him on December 20th., 1897:

"You are a most hopeless idealist - your aspirations are irrealisable. You want from men faith, honour, fidelity to truth in themselves and others. You want them to have all this, to show it every day, to make out of these words their rules of life..."

For this hopeless ideal of democracy he fought, within the framework of the democracy he found in Britain.

Constituent Elements.

Four preconditions for the achievement of real democracy as he understood it deserve particular attention. They occupied a prominent place in his social thinking. 1. The judicious use of state and municipal power. 2. The liberation of men in terms of wages, conditions, leisure and education. 3. A basis of social equality. 4. A basis of justice.

- (1) In a very early speech,¹ as a 'prentice politician, he gives the point of view from which he derives his support for direct intervention on the part of state and municipality: "No one has complete right to do what he likes with his own without consulting the rights and feelings of others." He speaks feelingly on this occasion of the deer forests in the Highlands, the depopulation of the countryside, the people to whom the lands should belong forced to live upon the selvages. He goes on to advocate these remedies: the restoration of the right of mountain pasturage and the imposition of a land tax; the power of compulsory acquisition of land at fair valuation by town and county councils - the object in the latter case being to provide the poverty-stricken with crofts. From the first, he, a landlord, favoured nationalisation of the land. He was not long in Parliament when he was advocating large-scale nationalisation. Supporting an endeavour to reduce the work/

1. At Coatbridge, probably in 1885. A report of the speech is preserved in a Scrap Book.

work of boys aged 12-16 years from 54 to 48 hours per week, he chid the Home Secretary for speaking as if Scots were

"..... in terror of more state supervision....(whereas)... We look confidently to the time when the Government will take possession of the mines and machinery of this country, and work them for the benefit of the country and not for the selfish benefit of capitalists"¹.

In the case of state intervention, his point of view is more explicitly elaborated than is usual. In an article on "The State"², he argues that the more democratic a country is, the less is state interference to be feared. The time for fear was when autocratic despots could take sons, daughters, goods and life. He goes on:

"..... The State is but (at least the governing part of it) the executive councils of this vast toiling mass which forms the working class of England.if men want shorter hours of work, want better wages, sanitary dwellings, they can appeal to Parliament with the same safety as to their union. It is their union..... it is their property and a man who fears to use it fears to ride his own horse."

He is prepared to see Parliament fix wages if need be, believing that it is impossible to fix them lower than, for instance, at Cradley Heath.³ Cries of "individual liberty in danger" he counts mere diversions:⁴ state intervention is a means to people's genuine liberty. He hopes men will accomplish state intervention by constitutional means, by using their votes, returning the right kind of M.P., and seeing/

1. June 22nd., 1887: Hansard. 2. In "The People's Press" Oct. 18th. 1890.

3. The centre of the chain making trade.

4. Letter to "The Speaker" Oct. 11th., 1890.

seeing that he is there only so long as he expresses their wishes. If this should fail, the working population have the means of bringing the State to a standstill. If they only insist they can get what they want. But his continual plea is for the use of constitutional means.

We may sum up his convictions: if a genuine democracy is to exist the State must be an instrument of the people to restrict harmful activity on the part of a few, and actively to interfere to provide the conditions requisite for a just and responsible society.

(2) The political and social liberation of working people was being hindered by economic conditions. The conditions attached to elections (e.g. the amount of returning officer's fee)¹; and the non-payment of M.Ps. meant that the way to Parliament was not open to members of the working class. Municipal service was impossible because there was no system of recompense for hours of work lost in attending Council Meetings.² Cunninghame Graham was convinced that Parliament would not be "the executive councils of this vast toiling mass" until it substantially consisted of men from among their number. He did not think working men need fear their inadequacy. "The democracy was composed of precisely the same blood, the same bones, as the aristocracy".³ The T.U.C./

1. He declares in a speech in the Black Country that this is £700.

2. Hansard, July, 1889; protest.

3. Speech as M.P. in Hyde Park Hall, Springburn, Glasgow, prob. 1887.

T.U.C. could find two or three hundred able men to replace the triflers at Westminster.¹ Working men had a unique gift to bring to the House - the Manifestation of their real need.

"I wish to see a gaunt, half-starved figure stalk into the house (the people's House of Commons).... I want to hear his speech, ungrammatical, rude, uneducated. I want to hear the poor's questions put forward by a poor man."²

Thus he pressed continually for the assumption of responsibility for election expenses by nation and ratepayers. He fought for the payment of M.Ps. and Town Councillors. The way had to be cleared for the people's representatives adequately to represent them.

Economic factors put at a premium responsible thinking and action on the part of working people. In reply to a statement by Sidney Webb, which expressed his concern at the apathy of London's wage-earners, Cunningham Graham pleads for patience:³ their long economic servitude could not be quickly replaced by a new sense of liberty. When he agitates for a policy of employment, for just wages and conditions, for reduced hours of labour (especially for an eight hours day), for the extension of Trade Unionism, for the abolition of sweating and overtime, his aim is to gain for men the economic freedom and leisure which is a prerequisite of responsibility.

Men/

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1. Article in "The People's Press" September 20th., 1890.
 2. Letter to the Press on Payment of M.Ps., November 13th., 1888.
 3. Articles in "The People's Press", 5th. July 1890.

Men and women who work from dawn to dusk, wearying themselves so that they can just crawl into bed and crawl out again in order to go back to work, all the time living on a starvation level, could never be made into a democracy. Speaking in the House on the deplorable conditions which obtained at Cradley Heath, he insisted:

"The first way to civilize these people was to make them imagine that someone was caring for them; and then they ought to shorten their hours of labour in order to enable them to read books, to raise themselves in the social scale, and to put a spirit in them that would enable them to revolt against such a state of affairs".^{1.}

Men were not to be freed to trifle; they were to be freed to extend the whole range of their living. Education had a large part to play. Economic barriers should not stand in the way of it. It was a right the state owed all its citizens.^{2.} In the House he was to affirm his conviction that for the reward of intelligent citizens, the state could not pay too dearly - and at the same time insist that poor children needed to be fed at school so that they might appropriate the benefits of education.^{3.} Of these benefits he was quite sure:

"It is education that opens the world of literature, science and art to men, without which what is life but a daily round of cares and troubles.... education places a man in direct contact with Plato, Shakespeare, Cervantes and all the great minds that have written and toiled and wept for suffering humanity."^{4.}

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1. 7th. March, 1889, Hansard.

2. Stated in speech in Baillieston made as a candidate probably in 1885.

3. 9th. November 1888, Hansard.

4. Address made in Argyle Hall, Glasgow, early, probably 1885.

3. The equality achieved by 'equalising men down' was anathema to Cunninghame Graham. He anticipated spurious equality, totalitarian in character, warning his readers against:

".... the happy time when all shall sit, apparelled in one livery, at little tables, drinking some not too diuretic "table water" approved by the County Council, and reading expurgated Bibles."

1984 The insight George Orwell was to express in "Animal Farm" and "1984" was closely akin to this earlier detestation of organised uniformity.

He was thoroughly aware that equality of status could not be realised where there was great disparity of wealth, and none fought harder than he for a fairer distribution of the national income. But he never seems to have been in favour of the idea that all men should be equally remunerated, or to have done other than anticipate discrepancies in wealth in a thoroughly socialised society. A basis of justice achieved, the genuine status of men was to be discovered in the manner of their personal relationships within society, in the acknowledgment of the great variety of skills and gifts for living required for the support of society, in co-operation in exercising these, in humility before all other men in their contribution and in a sense of the worth of one's own.

This/

1. "Notes on the District of Menteith", p. 13.

This sense of human equality was Scoto-Spanish. It was derived in his case from Spain itself (who had derived it from the Moorish invaders) and from Spanish influence in South America, although it forms one of the links of kinship between the Spanish and the Scottish outlook. Burns had it:

"The rank is but the guinea stamp
The man's the gowd for a' that".

In terms of Spanish life it is expressed by Cunninghame Graham in these words:

"..... they esteem a man by virtue of his being, and no one ever sinks himself in his profession or forgets for an instant that God created firstly men, and that the state of politician, soldier, pimp, king, priest and tide-waiter is secondary, and can be laid aside or altered, if fortune changes or the occasion serves".^{1.}

The Moorish camel driver keeps his lowly place of society, but in terms of his manhood considers himself the equal of the Sultan.^{2.} The carter carries out the will of the Spanish nobleman who employs him, but when they talk together, they talk as equals.^{3.} The basis of this sense of equality was genuine respect for the contribution to the life of society brought by oneself and by other men.^{4.} In South America it was found among the "intelligencia of the lazo, not of mere puling books",^{5.} in the recognition that you possess the mysterious arts of reading and writing, but cannot see a horse's/

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1. Introduction to "Companions in the Sierra" Chas. Rudy, 1907.
 2. "Pedro de Valdivia", p. 43.
 3. Noted often, e.g. in "Jose Antonio Paez", p. 104.
 4. See "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 175.
 5. Preface to "El Rodeo".

Horse's footprint on hard ground."¹.

This mutual respect for work, for gifts, for different modes of living, which in sum are needed to make up the fabric of society, materially expressed, seems to him an essential ingredient in a real democracy. Without it, even political and educational enfranchisement is but sounding brass and tinkling cymbal:².

"Votes, citizenship, reading and writing, knowledge of a profession or a trade, yet leaves a man a boor unless social equality between man and man makes men true citizens."³.

In Britain the effect of the Nonconformist Conscience appeared to Cunninghame Graham to be to divert attention from a genuine policy of social equalisation and to substitute a form of moral patronage. In Parliamentary discussion this was writ large. He expresses his point of view in an article:

"Temperance is a safe subject....Anything is popular in Parliament that tends to improve the masses from above. Anything that tends to make them the social equals of honourable gentlemen, anything that makes them independent of the upper classes is, of course, 'Taboo'"⁴.

He would not allow Parliament to rest in this error. His attitude to the emancipation of women partakes of the same large awareness. Feminists and suffragettes hailed tales like "Un Monsieur" (the story of a well-to-do married man's callous dealing with a prostitute) as the product of one who had heartfelt sympathy with and understanding of their aspirations/

1. "Thirteen Stories", p. 46.

2. He notes how the form can be present without the substance, e.g., in "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 164.

3. Ibid, p. 98.

4. Article on "People's Parliament", "The People's Press", June 21st., 1890.

tions. Cunninghame Graham certainly supported many of these aspirations. He encouraged the formation of Trade Unions among women workers, advocated the opening of political office to women, championed their right to the vote, spoke against the employment of women in mines. His very oversympathising with prostitutes (who appear in many of his tales) stems from an outraged sense of the sexually unequal treatment of men and women by society. Late in life he could express great satisfaction at their emancipation:

"Women had come into their own in the last fifty years.... They legislated for us, pleaded for us, even preached in our pulpits. Were they any the worse for that? Certainly not. They were as good wives and mothers as ever they were".¹.

His strong sense of justice led to the demand at many points that women have political, economic, social and sexual status denied them in the society in which he was brought up;² and his very great courtesy led to a constant insistence that women be treated with chivalry - the angry note in his sketch *Selvagia*³; a realistic description of the brutish life in a Scottish village, comes from sensitiveness to the complete lack of all courtesy of manner in its make-up.

Yet, on occasion, he shows that the form of emancipation may be gained and the substance lost. In his picture of demi-Mondaines in fashionable restaurants and places of amusement, he sounds/

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1. Speech in 1934 opening Public Hall Sale at Buchlyvie. It is of interest to note that it was on a similar occasion exactly 50 years earlier, that he made his first public speech.
 2. He works this out fully in an unpublished ms. entitled "The Real Equality of the Sexes" in Dartmouth College Library.
 3. In "The Ipane", probably written in reaction to the Kailyard School.

sounds the warning - it may be licence women covet, not liberty. In a bitter paragraph in the biography of his ancestor "Doughty Deeds"¹ he avers that the only equality women have ever wanted was in sexual laxity. "Votes and careers and all their other war-cries, have been but smoke-screens to cover their advance." This seeming disillusionment came largely from the conviction that women had a particular gift for life, as men had a particular gift and freedom was not to be found in aping masculine ways. The status this gave might be realised in societies where women seemed enslaved and be lost in societies in which they had, in all technical matters, equal status. His concern is really that women both obtain a substantial social equality with men, and that they bring to society their unique gift of womanliness. In the same book he says:

"Notwithstanding votes and seats in Parliament in England women scarcely count as women. If they do count it is as citizens, a very different thing.....in Scotland, women have always exercised more influence, as women, upon men..."².

Without making of courtesy a fetish (he does not equate it with the weakness which defers to all men and situations at all times³) he sees in it a grace without which social living must be barren, however adequate its outward form.⁴ He regretted the loss of the ancient Scottish courtesy of manner which he believed had belonged to past, chivalrous times,⁵ and inveighed against Scotland's/

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1. "Doughty Deeds", p. 66.
 2. Ibid, p. 104.
 3. He makes this crystal clear in his humorous and pathetic story of Dutch Smith's amiability in a sketch in "Faith", pp. 181,2.
 4. See Preface to "Thirteen Stories", p.ix.
 5. "Notes on District of Menteith", p. 13.

Scotland's equation of boorishness and harshness with independence and manliness.^{1.}

What he longed to see, it appears to me, was the grace of living which characterised a patriarchal form of society made indigenous to a more democratically organised form of life.^{2.} Courtesy was a form of recognition of man's dignity. It was no substitute for political, social, economic and cultural enfranchisement. But it was the outward expression of that humble realisation of interdependence which belonged, with these other freedoms, to the attainment of a full life for men.

(4.) The word "Justice" is used in two senses throughout Cunninghame Graham's writings. It is at times spoken of as an ideal, recognised among many races, but far beyond the command of mankind. At times the word is used for the rough-and-ready approximation we know on this earth.

His conclusion about the possibility of the existence of justice as an absolute, anywhere, in any state, is uniformly pessimistic. True justice is so scarce on earth, it may well be rare in heaven.^{3.} If it is to be found it must exist in some far country, unattainable by man.^{4.} His attitude is probably most adequately stated in terms of the mythical land of Trapalanda, a paradise for horses and horsemen (where grass is/

1. "The Ipane", pp. 113, 193.

2. I take this to be the implication of his comparison of the Andorrans' way of life with ours in "Faith", p. 194.

3. "Redeemed", p. 80.

4. "Charity" p. 218. My underlining.

is always green and hard riding brings no ache between the shoulder-blades) imagined in Indian folk-lore. Of it he says (late in life, indicating the consistency of his attitude):

"Justice, deaf, blind and futile as she has always been in this world, there shall recover sight and hearing, and the perception of the meaning of her name. All this I wish, rather than look for...."¹.

He had a real longing for assurance of the existence of true justice to vindicate our earthly approximations. But honesty compelled him to remain an unbeliever.

About justice as it is commonly found, he despairs. It depends on law, which "is too often but a system framed to quiet the conscience of the strong when they ill-treat the weak"². It is implemented by force, which is always the servant of the powers-that-be, in London, in South America, anywhere. In London:

"Policemen stood upon their beats, stout and well-fed, looking with scorn if a taxpayer in a threadbare coat passed by them and ever ready, after the fashion of the world, to aid the rich, the strong and those who did not need their help, and spurn the miserable."³.

In South America justice in the hands of a superior race, with superior fire-power, meant that intelligent Indian caciques were dealt with summarily as "gente sin razon"⁴. Of the Sioux, harried by an American punitive expedition, Cunningham Graham wrote to the Press:

"The Messiah these poor people are waiting for, our poor people here in London also look for. Justice will not come either to Cherry Creek, no nor yet to Whitechapel."⁵.

When/

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1. Preface to "Southern Cross to Pole Star" by A.F. Tschiffely.
 2. "Bernal Diaz del Castillo" p. 132.
 3. "Charity", p. 74; so also "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 129.
 4. "A Vanished Arcadia", p.248. Cf. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 55.
 5. Quoted in Professor West's Biography, p. 88.

When men are no longer useful, or when they were poor and powerless to articulate their rights and bring pressure to bear to preserve them, justice was absent.^{1.} God nor man seemed to care.^{2.}

All this appears to be the language of resignation. But how false the appearance. However much ~~he~~ may have despaired of "true justice" existing in pattern in heaven, or becoming indigenous to our earthly societies, in particular concrete instances his demand for justice was immediate and absolute. He battled continually in Parliament and on the platform for adequate inspection of conditions in mines, for the considerate treatment of pit ponies; for the equal treatment of rich and poor, agitator and hereditary pensioner - "....the very policemen who smite him with their truncheons have the benefit of his advocacy when their pay, pensions or privileges are in question" remarks 'Spy' in an otherwise none-too-kind cameo attached to a published cartoon;^{3.} for the availability of justice in the law-courts irrespective of financial position; for bringing judges under popular control; for the growth of organs expressing the people's voice (e.g. Trade Unions, "The People's Press"^{4.}) so that it might not be pressure of rumour but right which commended their case; for the freedom of meeting and speech. One of the most interesting things about the speeches and interventions recorded in Hansard, is his championship of obscure people who have had a raw deal/

1. So he speaks of a soldier's recompense, the war over, in "Hernando de Soto", p.129: of the poor defrauded of justice, in Hansard July 6th. and 20th., 1888.

2. "Notes on the District of Mentaith", 1st. Edition, p. 53.

3. August 25th., 1888. In Dartmouth College Library.

4. The Capitalist Press brings out some of his bitterest invective. His attitude is best expressed in two articles in "The People's Press", "Utopia", 11th. October, and "Public Opinion", 8th. Nov., 1890. A phrase from the former may sum up..."the great lying lever that thinks it moves the world".

deal from the law - of two girls given hard labour for sleeping in a doorway; of a man injured at work and refused just compensation; of people alleged to be beaten up by police in their cells; particularly of a man, who, he claimed, invented a form of time-fuse and was swindled out of his reward - his case is taken up again and again in spite of its hopelessness. The unjust treatment of individuals, of groups, of a whole class called out his spirited protagonism. We shall examine (in Appendix I) one particular instance - the Trafalgar Square incident on "Bloody Sunday" - which articulates, in terms of action, his mind on the justice and freedom which should mark Britain's democracy.

Meantime a characteristic outburst, cutting to the quick of the situation, sparing neither foe nor ally in its condemnation, may be quoted to give a lively picture of R.B. Cunninghame Graham, Liberal M.P., in action on a public platform. The time is just after his release from prison following a six-weeks' sentence for his assault on civilization (as G.B. Shaw saw it) in the "Battle of Trafalgar Square". He reminds his audience that Burns and he come back to their homes and congratulations: but that many others had received long, hard sentences. He goes on:

"But what of the poor fellows who have no friends..." What of the civilization, what of the Christianity, the social system and the hypocrisy that has created such a class among us - a class who prefer to be in Pentonville or Millbank, or any prison where they are free from starvation, and where, at least, they can get three meals a day from the richest, the most Christian, and the most civilized country in the world?while the audience were still laughing and cheering exultantly, Mr. Graham asked whether things would be much better under a Liberal government - about which there was a difference/

difference of opinion among the audience - and declared that unless they stiffened the knees of the Liberals they would find the old, old story that 'Come Whig, come Tory', the people are cheated, cajoled, and coerced.

....."We have had enough of it", he said, "A rich man can do what he pleases - cheat on the turf and on the Stock Exchange, seduce children of 13, and he is still my honourable member for so-and-so. The rich woman can pass her time in frivolity, in luxury, in the pursuit of fashion and she is still Madam, My Lady. But turn the mirror", roared Graham with feverish fierceness, "turn the mirror, with the silver off it and come to the plain work-a-day class, and then - then - the actors become plain rogue, and whore, without periphrasis. Now all that must be changed, but not by revolution in this country. I am not one of those who urge revolution - knowing that it must needs be unsuccessful - knowing that in a country kept down by a mercenary police, with an army of the capitalist class, it cannot be successful - but a revolution as sweeping and searching can be effected at the ballot-boxes as it can be by the effusion of oceans of blood. You have the power - the vote which has not been given you but which you have extorted - why not use it?

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If the attainment of a genuinely democratic form of social organisation implied the use of state and municipal power to provide the framework of a just society; an inheritance for men of economic security, significant participation in work, and cultured leisure; a commonalty of gifts and energies given recognition in a sense of social equality; justice within the reach of every man: what was its very heart?

To my mind, Cunninghame Graham, though he never deals with this question directly, gives one answer in his writings and in his life. The heart of democracy is liberty.

He was well aware the word is used as a catchpenny phrase with emotional overlays in political currency. He was quite alive to the dangers/

dangers exemplified in revolutions in liberty's name, where liberty could become the "bloodstained goddess" who "usually eats her children".^{1.}

"Liberator" could be the highest title mankind has in its power to bestow,^{2.} or might be equated with mere self-seeking.^{3.}

Far beyond not only the Tories but also the Liberals of his day he saw how the form of liberty might exist alongside its denial in terms of the structure of society. Beyond the Marxists and many of the Socialists he saw that liberty demanded a sense of equality in society which was not only economic and political, and understood the enrichment of man's whole being.

At the heart of every society, he insists, there must be the right of free responsible choice, the possibility of living out one's life in a way native to one's very being, as long as this does not hurt the lives of others. Individuals and nations must have this as a birthright. This is what Cunningham Graham has in mind when he says

"....every man must make his heaven for himself, for heaven made by another's hand would be a hell".^{4.}

and of nations:

"every nation since the beginning of the world, has preferred, and rightly, indifferent government, by one of its own citizens, to any rule, however beneficial, imposed from the outside".^{5.}

This/

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1. "Cartegena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 128.
 2. do. do. pp. 158, 9.
 3. Re Don Justo de Urquiza's defeat of Rosas, the Argentinian dictator, and elevation of himself: "Progress", p. 67.
 4. "The Conquest of New Granada" p. 104. I am sure this is the conception indicated by those words to which Tschiffely attached so much importance "I hold that the best right that a man can have is to be happy after the way that pleases him best" ("Don Roberto" p. 183). The phrase looks individualistic and anarchistic unless seen in the light of the social context he gave it.
 5. "Jose Antonio Paez", p. 217.

This is why he had such a liking for the free life of the Gauchos, Vaqueros and Llaneros in South America. Liberty had not one or two forms, as seemed so often to be asserted in his day by advocates of particular liberties (e.g., Marx, Herbert Spencer, Henry George, Oscar Wilde, the leaders of the Suffragettes). "Literally it has a hundred forms and shades¹ ", and all these need to be appropriated for the enrichment of a society which any strait-jacket freedom must impoverish. To him personal freedom matters so much that the crusted Tory who acts with spirit and feeling², and the person who is constitutionally incapable of sharing his own most fervent convictions³, must have their honoured place in society, even while he attacks their tradition and imperviousness. He, who understood so well the oppression which a system of government could entail upon men, who was so conscious of the freedom to be gained only by means of altering that system, never allows that any system is a fulfilment in itself: "...as if a system ever saved anything but itself..." he says with scorn⁴. In all this the simple and important assertion emerges that government exists for people, not people for government. To A.D. Lindsay, who, in a series of broadcasts, reproduced in his book "I Believe in Democracy", makes points such as these:

"Democracy.....means that everyone is to count.....
Good manners, which are the outward expression of treating
people as persons....
.....democracy implies that government exists to protect
what/

1. Preface to "Revolutionary Types"

2. In Glasgow, in 1887, he expresses this kind of appreciation of General Stewart's book on the Highlands - speech preserved in a Scrap Book.

3. E.G. Parnell.

4. "Jose Antonio Paez", p. 220.

what really matters in society - the ultimate values of free human intercourse".^{1.}

Cunninghame Graham would have doffed his hat, or thrown it in the air and shouted: "Bravo!"

1. pp. 58,9.

The Aristocrat-Democrat.

My childhood's memory retains some phrases of a music-hall song, one verse of which concerned a negro child who was underweight. "How could he be so dark and yet so light?" asked one comedian of the other. Of Cunninghame Graham we may ask: "How could he possibly be such an aristocrat and such a democrat?" Encouraged by an aloofness of bearing interpreted as disdain, by the fact that among the proletariat he never looked one of them, and did not comfortably work with them,¹ men have usually adjudged him simply an aristocrat. Whether he, an aristocrat, could be a democrat must yield to the evidence that I have tried to set forth. Cunninghame Graham does not fit tidy theories of humanity. He combines what is normally considered incongruities in a harmony of personality. It is significant that a contemporary newspaper which produced a series of "Cameos of the House" described him thus:

"Mr. Cunninghame Graham is at once the most Democratic and the most aristocratic member of the House of Commons.... He is probably ten times more in earnest than any other member of the House. This earnestness is resented, not only by his opponents, but by the Liberal members, as it makes their own duplicity and inaction obvious by comparison."²

"Out of aristocrats you can make the most dangerous revolutionaries", says Stephen Graham. "Their metal is better tempered."³

It remains to make some attempt to explain Cunninghame Graham's preservation of the whole insignia of aristocracy when he flung himself into/

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1. Mr. Thomas Kerr, ex-Lord Provost of Glasgow, Hugh McDiarmid, Stephen Graham, Holbrook Jackson in his sketch in "Today", and others, testify to this fact.
 2. Cutting preserved in a Scrap Book.
 3. In his sketch in "The Death of Yesterday".

into a revolutionary movement for the reorganisation of society in the interest of the masses. What did he hope to gain by retaining the graces, the manners, the culture of a Grand Seigneur? Holbrook Jackson sees the question, and answers it with insight:

"The conventional aristocrat maintains his aristocratic qualities within the traditional limits of his class, and he believes that they belong to that class. Mr. R.B. Cunninghame Graham takes his aristocracy into the world and would gladly bequeath it to the world....would democratize his own distinction."¹.

What he sought for men was not in terms of impoverishment but of richness. As a cultured aristocrat for whom tradition was a living thing, he was able to take a stand for the whole good of man's life and the cherishing of his inheritance. His freedom from financial need and detachment from ambition made possible a wider outlook than that of those who thought everything would be gained if a particular freedom, of which they were deprived, were attained.

He treated men as having been created in the image of God and the fabric of society as a means towards freeing all men to live according to this endowment. This is not the judgment of his works. I cannot remember his using the phrase "image of God" on even one occasion. But it appears to me to be the only just judgment of his attitude and acts.

1. Appreciation in "Today", March 1920.

II. AN INDUSTRIALIZED SOCIETY.

The Backcloth.

In his "Three Plays for Puritans", George Bernard Shaw writes of Cunninghame Graham's part in the Trafalgar Square incident:^{1.} "On that occasion civilization, qualitatively his inferior, was quantitatively so hugely in excess of him that it put him in prison, but hadn't enough sense to keep him there." The explicit suggestion of antagonism to the form of civilization he found represented as British after his wanderings in many airts, is apt. He was to couch his lance at it many a time.

Some knowledge of the constituent elements which made up the late Victorian conception of civilization - in particular, the cult of progress, the power of science, the mills "dark, Satanic", the idea of empire, is necessary that we may understand the butt at which Cunninghame Graham aimed his 'magnanimous indignations.'^{2.}

I believe Canon Demant lays his finger on the pulse of later Victorianism when he says^{3.} it assumed that whatever direction our civilization took was a direction of nature. This once granted, growth of industry, wealth, and empire, achievements of science and arms, became self-justifying.

It is by no means easy to give a succinct account of so various a background as that of Queen Victoria's reign. Enterprise and/

1. Detailed in Appendix I.

2. As Conrad called them in a letter after Gabrielle's death.

3. In a broadcast printed in "Ideas and beliefs of the Victorians" p. 237.

and initiative were abundantly in evidence. Yet at their root lay a firm belief in progress as something indigenous to our state, the assertion of determinism. The parallel may be found in Scotland's past, where men cherished a very real freedom, against a thorough-going belief in a rigid form of predestination. It was probably the hope for the world expressed in Christian faith, even when covert and denied, which saved men of this age from fatalism.

Darwin was not the originator of the current idea of progress, though he gave it a powerful impetus. The Newtonian conception of mathematical law governing throughout, of a world to be understood in terms of masses in motion, linked to the arrival of the Industrial Revolution and the Railway Age goes far to sketch its outline. Life became a pair of railway lines, whose end was lost over the horizon, on which the engine of man's achievement moved irresistibly at gathering speed to some good but unspecified destination, to the accompaniment of nature's agreement and encouragement. Darwin's part in fostering the idea of progress is illustrated by the words with which he concludes his "Origin of Species":

"As natural selection works solely for the good of each being, all corporal and mental environment will tend to progress toward perfection".

The words "and mental" and "toward perfection" form significant assumptions.

Life was evacuated of God by a new awareness of the age of the earth and man's descent in it; and by the German biblical criticism/

criticism which shattered men's accepted religious context for life. Moral ideals were domesticated in the ongoing process. Heaven was believed in desperately, irrationally, as a super-natural realm, disrelated from the earth, promised to those who lived by faith alone and abjured sight; or it became the earthly hope which lay just over the horizon. In the march of history itself our ends were shaped for good, without divinity.

To many, thus, the idea of progress became a religion of compensation for an older, lost faith. Progress was authoritative, self-authenticating. Science could be content with producing marvels of invention and discovery, without the conscious concern of Francis Bacon for the glory of God and the relief of man's estate. Industry could ally with it in a self-justifying, continual expansion, leaving to the automatic adjustment of nature the cost involved in human life.¹ The theory which Malthus propounded in 1798, in his "Essay on the Principle of Population", far from arousing the middle and upper classes to action, could be reduced to the comfortable assumption that a certain substratum of unemployment and poverty was natural to human life. "Laissez-faire" had this basis, and this wide frame of reference.

The effect of this popular philosophical outlook deserves special attention as it impinges on other civilizations, in trade, in colonisation, in the "civilizing mission" of the white race; for it was where civilizations came in conflict that Cunningham Graham/

1. Cunningham Graham protested in the Commons: "Machinery, through the action of the capitalist class, has been made rather a wage-saving appliance than a labour-saving appliance." April 22nd., 1890. Hansard.

Graham discovered the torture and enlightenment of his cosmopolitan sympathies.

The influence of Edmund Burke was still writ large over the first half of the Victorian Age. The idea of empire then was based on the belief that the traditions and environments of other races were important for their organic development: that the intrusion of alien ways could strike at the social cohesion of a race and disrupt entirely its moral code. The spread of Western civilization was thought to be important; but it was to be introduced gradually as it could be assimilated: and, to begin with, it was not the twin brother of political imperialism. Something more like the Commonwealth as we know it, with independent colonies tied to the mother country by friendship was advocated by Charles Dilke and Goldwin Smith. It is in the light of this conception of international relationships that we are to interpret David Livingstone's famous words: "...those two pioneers of civilization - Christianity and commerce...."¹. These words are not spoken by one who was a blind tool of commercial, and thence of political imperialism. Rather trade was seen by him to be a means whereby the adaptation to another civilization (which he saw would have come in any case) might be made gradual and timely: a means of intercourse between nations and the exchange of benefits.

But there arose kings over Egypt who knew not Joseph.
The/

1. From his lectures delivered at Oxford and Cambridge in 1857.

The change was not sudden or universal. Before it came, it had been found necessary to annex territories for the sake of internal law and order, or for their protection, e.g., from slave-traders. These were added to dependencies which were already directly ruled, and they posed the separate question - whether, when, and how native peoples should be prepared for self-government if they did not already have some adequate form of administration native to their traditions. After the change of policy, there were still those who adopted an enlightened outlook which avoided both the imposition of Western institutions, regardless of indigenous traditions, and despotism.¹ Gladstone and the Liberals opposed the new attitude, holding it as their watchword that self-government is better than good government. But in 1872 Disraeli committed the Conservative government to an imperialistic policy, and in 1876 he had the Queen entitled "Empress of India". Stanley and Rhodes stepped into Livingstone's shoes, and Africa became a happy hunting ground for all but Africans. Trade and philosophy aided and abetted. In the last quarter of the century, other countries were challenging our industrial supremacy, and the pressure for new sources of raw materials and new markets was felt. Darwinian theories were interpreted in terms of necessary racial conflict and the elimination of the less fit;² and the whole idea of progress favoured the assertion of the inevitable domination of the British race. Force and fraud could now discard their prison garb, wear a frock-coat, and appear oftener in public.

This/

1. Notably Sir Arthur Gordon in his governorship of Fiji. His address to the Royal Colonial Institute in 1879 is one excellent expression of the concept of imaginative trusteeship.
2. Cunninghame Graham explicitly recognises this in a letter to the Press on an American punitive expedition on the Sioux, quoted in Prof. West's Biography, p. 89; "The Majesty of civilization will be vindicated..... and the Darwinian theory of the weakest to the wall have received another confirmation to strengthen those who want to use it against the weakest here in Europe."

This turn of policy was to be reversed in the next century and the earlier view win its way back to favour. After the imperial picnics of the Afghan and Zulu wars, the resistance of the Boers was to give an abrupt shock to jingoism. But it was by the mood of the last quarter of the 19th. century that Cunninghame Graham's view of the effects of an industrialised civilization on other nations was to be moulded. It was a view he held consistently throughout his life. He knew the Indians and gauchos and the vanishing life of the pampas as probably none but W.H. Hudson ever did besides. He knew patriarchal, Mohammedan societies. He had a way, like Livingstone's of "thinking native" of understanding African tribal life as if he had been brought up in it. He studied conditions in India, in the South Seas, in Jamaica. He lived, with an acute awareness and insight, in open country whose only walls were mountains and whose roof the sky, and in overpopulated, heavily industrialised towns. He had taken time to evaluate many civilizations of the past. He came, fully fitted out, to a task of sympathy and judgment.

a. AN EXPANDING ECONOMY.

The Cult of Progress.

That progress was a term of dubious repute to Cunninghame Graham all his days can be traced to one principal source - the arrogation to it of absolute status, a status akin to that of divinity. Again and again he puts his finger on this spot as the crucial one. Progress is "...that goddess born of hurry and noise.....;"¹. "the self-created goddess";².

"....the Goddess Progress, who from the horse-dung of the streets ascended up on high, and sits enthroned within the hearts of all her votaries."³.

and her worship is a sign of the industrial age:

"A vast and tin-roofed "terminus", in which engines scream and whistle all the night, is the chief labarum of progress, and all who see it, with the smoke from its workshops hung across the sky, bow and adore it and are satisfied."⁴.

He challenges the assumption that material progress implies moral progress in any sense. The agreement of Morillo and Bolivar in 1820 to exchange prisoners, respect the lives and property of people in occupied towns, and let deserters live, is an indication to him that we have retrogressed since then, not progressed.⁵ He instances a man travelling at eighty miles per hour in a well heated, comfortable machine, his mind a blank or occupied with plans of self-interest and trickery. This, he says, is no significant advance upon transport by bullock cart in the days of Pericles.⁶ His mind on the matter is given in the words: ".....material progress often leaves a man a mere barbarian, self-satisfied and dull."⁷.

Progress/

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- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. "Writ on Sand", p. 101. | 2. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 286. |
| 3. "Progress", Preface, p.vii. | 4. "His People", p. 148. |
| 5. "Jose Antonio Paex", p. 170. | 6. Preface to "The Canon". |
| 7. "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 69. | |

Progress robbed men of primitive joys which were inestimably precious:

"So does our progress make commercial travellers of us all, and take away the primæval joy in sun, in wind, in divine idleness..."¹.

He felt the world was losing a sense of the mystery of things,² blinded by smoke, and unbalanced by hurry and noise. He hated to see the pampas and prairies of America fenced and crisscrossed with telephone wires.³

He mourned the death of primitive peoples - and of a primitive, unsophisticated type of rectitude⁴ - before the all-devouring monster. With insight he noted how progress coming to a village could disrupt its traditions and replace its wholesome ways with shabby counterfeits. This he graphically illustrates in a sketch which describes the erection of a hotel in a backward Alpine village. Planned to bring prosperity to the village, it cheapens its people. They become parasites on the tourists, lose their self-respect and abandon their morality. Blind, culpable approval of the innovation is represented in the person of:

"....the bishop of the diocese, who prayed to the Almighty to ward off lightning or inundations from it, to make the hotel the focus of true christian progress and prosper it financially."⁵

On an odd occasion Cunninghame Graham can be unfair, in his detestation of the worship of the new. In his book "Brought Forward" he decries "fat fields tilled by machinery"; and speaks of a man's "...little holding, an oasis in the waste of modern scientific farming."⁶ This is but/

1. "Success", p. 58.

2. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p.28.

3. E.g. "Thirteen Stories", Preface, p.x; "The Ipane," p. 65; "Faith", pp. 139, 140.

4. He makes the point regarding the life left and anticipated by emigres in "Faith" p. 155.

5. "Redeemed", p. 21.

6. pp. 31, 98.

but reactionary. It is really untypical. He knew a change had to come.^{1.} But so identified was he with people who were to become guinea-pigs of progress misapplied or pestilential, that he could both appreciate their mystified yearning for it, as the bearer of an unspecified good:

"So distant are the Llanos from our vain-glorious, noisy, and evil-smelling civilization, as to be almost unaware that such a thing exists. They await the coming of the thing called progress, just as a girl may dream about her marriage night without exactly knowing what it means." 2.

and their disenchantment.

Ours was the fault for exporting:

*....the thing that we call progress, and pride ourselves upon, as justly as a man might pride himself upon an ulcer in his leg, or fine harelip, or any other malformation."^{3.}

He refuses to allow to progress the title of divinity.

He challenges its connotation of automatic blessing. Good. Does he face squarely, anywhere, the alternative to progress?

In one of his short stories, he tells of a Highland crofter family brought South, and set down on a farm with good land, to test their capacity to make use of a fresh opportunity. Before very long the farmstead was falling to pieces. The husband did nothing, the wife very little. "Lazy-bed" potato growing was their greatest accomplishment. The children were infested and unkempt. Just when we expect him to condemn this alternative of unprepossessing backwardness, he says:

".....a/

1. He says so clearly in "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 287.

2. "Redeemed", p. 32.

3. Preface to "Adventures in Bolivia", by C.H. Prodgers.

"....a picture of the old-world Scotland, which has almost disappeared. Sloth was not altogether lovely, but prating progress worse."1.

He has no alternative to offer.

Cunninghame Graham was a strange mixture. He saw and derided the cult of progress. He faced its ill-consequences and regretfully accepted its necessity. Yet his lingering, romantic love for the past appears at times merely reactionary. The fact was that he stood between two worlds and was not sure that the new could be made as good as the old.² What he did know was that there was much in a slower, smokeless, more gracious past which was to be treasured; that the present had to be made gracious wherever that was possible, and that this could not be done automatically; that man should take time to savour life, and not be forever "getting on". The redeeming feature of his reactionary tendency was that the love of the past was not an indulgence and an escape. It was a means of getting the present into proportion, and preserving for it what was worthy in our inheritance.

His romantic temperament responded to "the enthralling beauty of decay",³ to the disorder of age over against the trimness of modernity.⁴ For Gabrielle the past lived even more vividly.⁵ Both had a great capacity of imagination which enabled them to get under/

1. "The Ipane", p. 172. The underlining is mine.

2. George Eliot was in the same cleft stick, as her attitude to the restoration of Shepperton Church shows: "...imagination does a little Toryism on the sly, revelling in regret that dear, old, brown, crumbling, picturesque, inefficiency is everywhere giving place to...new-varnished efficiency."

3. "Charity", p. 135.

4. "His People", p. 248.

5. See "Father Archangel of Scotland", p. 198. Gabrielle probably lived four-fifths in the past and the future, and only one intense fifth in the present.

under the skin of other civilizations, and to relive the past. Probably the true perspective for this love of the past is to be found in a most sensitive sketch of Iona which appears in "Hope". The restoration of the Abbey offends. Loving ruins redolent of the past, he writes of "....the cathedral, now being killed with care".¹ But his real complaint is that so few people have ears and eyes open to the past, so few realise how the island is peopled:

"....it is all made up of saints and stones....(Thus)... does the past so dwarf the present, that things which happened when the world was young seem just as probable as the incredible events we see before our eyes".²

He goes on:

"Fairies and martyrs both seem as natural as does the steamer".³

There we have it. When a steamer becomes as natural to the world as are fairies and martyrs, then our civilization can have a sense of achievement.

The Civilizing Mission.

In all Cunninghame Graham's attacks on our civilization, it should be noted that it is the callous, self-seeking, thoughtless imposition of it upon the weak at home and abroad which receives the lash of his irony. His attitude is closest to that of Burke and the early Victorians who believed civilization had to be introduced to societies gradually, as and when it could be absorbed, with the concurrence and gradual adaptation of a people.

The/

1. P. 57.

2. P. 56.

3. Op. Cir. p. 57.

The charge is succinctly put in a study of the life of one of the Spanish conquistadors:

"Progress and civilization misapplied, are the chief curses that Europeans have carried to the remotest corners of the earth, slaying, enslaving and conquering in their name".^{1.}

For all our industrial development, our sanitation, our inventions, our commercial supremacy, our art, science and literature, - our civilization denied its name. It was barbarous. It was no fit export.

(a) It was reared on the misery of the poor. While he was imprisoned in the fortress of the Kaid of Kintafi, Cunningham Graham debated life with a Persian go-between. The Persian made the point that whatever a Mohammedan might have to suffer at the hands of autocrats, he was never allowed to starve.^{2.} This realisation and the fact that in the rough life of the pampas the poorest had never known hunger, goaded Cunningham Graham to vitriolic denunciation of the Western civilization which could be so self-satisfied about its accomplishment and yet not house and feed its poor.

Two quotations, with more than a quarter of a century between them, appear appropriate to illustrate his attitude. The first comes from an article on the Liverpool Dock Strike of 1890:

"Let there be docks; let rivers be dammed back,
let waters be confined in their channels; let ships
securely anchor against tall warehouses, fortunes be
made, the trade of Britain spread around the world;
let there be dockers, ragged, uncared-for men, employed
by no man twice, the very prey and sport of middlemen;
let/

1. "Bernal Diaz del Castillo" p. 106.
2. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 194.

let these dockers be driven like dumb cattle, let them work at dangerous employments, live hard, sleep little, waking through the night; let shipowners grow rich upon their toil; all this shall constitute a well-ordered Christian state.....We must maintain civilization, even if it is reared and founded on the misery of the poor".^{1.}

The second occurs in his book "Brought Forward", where he describes civilized cities as:

"Cities of vain endeavour in which men pass their lives thinking of the condition of their poorer brethren, but never making any move to get down off their backs.... (He thinks of) the vast sums bestowed to forward arts and sciences, and on the poor who shiver in their streets and cower under railway arches in the dark winter nights."^{2.}

Prostitution and drunkenness, the scourges which stimulated to ameliorative action the Non-Conformist conscience, were believed by him to be the accompaniments of poverty and hopelessness, and to indicate that our way of life had a rottenness at its heart.

(b) It was a Vanity Fair, at least among the privileged, where spurious values dominated, and hypocrisy and empty show flourished. Society women filled their day with visits to those whom they detested and by whom they were detested in return. Rich men and demi-mondaines ministered to one another's empty vanity.^{3.} After one of Cunninghame Graham's horse-buying expeditions, the thought of returning to Britain brings a sigh, - to confront again:

"... all the cares of life called civilized, with all its littleness, its newspapers all full of nothing, its sordid aims disguised under high-sounding nicknames, its hideous riches and its sordid poverty,..."^{4.}

How much better the wild open life of Bopicua - free of pretence.

(c)/

1. "People's Press", April 5th., 1890. 2. p. 155.
3. "Hope", p. 232. 4. "Brought Forward", p. 201.



(c) War and force were needed as accomplices of our power.

Our civilization could exist only because it was "...cemented well with blood and sustained precariously on the points of bayonets..."¹. The superiority shown in its impact on other civilizations rested in those things which mattered least - as fire-power, air raids and poison gas²: and yet by this means we left our rude mark all over the world. The Great War revealed our real state of barbarity.³

Our civilization's achievement, shot through and through with bitter loss, is illustrated in the possible future of Magazan. This African port:

".....may be destined some day to a glorious commercial future, with railways, docks, smoke, pauperism, prostitution in the streets, twenty-five ~~hith~~ instead of one, drunkards, cabs, bicycles, and all our vices".⁴

The Oriental way of life, which appears to him to have existed since the world was young, now at the mercy of Western superiority in arms, would be better left to outlast by centuries this "shoddy paradise" which we sought to impose.⁵

It could have been a great contribution to the handling of international relationships, though it was one little valued in his day, that Cunninghame Graham noted the ill-effects of extending Western influence on indigenous societies with the eye of a foreigner, and spoke about these to British people as a British citizen. Much that he says is still thoroughly relevant, probably even more so to the/

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1. "Mirages", his last book: Preface xi.
 2. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu". Preface, p. xi and p. 34.
 3. "Brought Forward", p. 192.
 4. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 30. See also "Redeemed", p. 19 and "Thirteen Stories", p. 179.
 5. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 137.

the expanding U.S.A. economy than to our own.

He saw the vacuum left in national life in the East, wherever the presence of Europeans forced prices up, unsettled men, and yet offered no compensation for disrupted standards.¹ In more primitive communities, he described the "solidarity", the "clinging kinship" which bound the tribe, and showed how if this were subjected to intruding foreign influence, the whole pattern of life was broken, and the people simply decayed into oblivion.² Natives fell heir to our peculiar diseases, in some cases finding it impossible to survive them,³ in others finding their life made miserable and short.⁴ To me, the unforgettable account of the impact of a foreign civilization upon a native society is contained in a sketch in "Thirteen Stories" entitled "Higgenson's Dream". In New Caledonia, the French island in the South Pacific Ocean, Higgenson had spent some part of his youth living with a native tribe, swimming, taking part in their sports. Later he grew rich, developed the island, furnished it with harbours, roads, mines, and brought to it considerable commercial prosperity. One day, haunted by the memory of his youthful life, he took his schooner and sought the tribe. He found the beach all overgrown, the huts derelict, except that in one lay Tean, the friend of his youth, wasted and dying. His words remained with Higginson ever after:

".....black man all die, black woman no catch baby, tribe only fifty 'stead of five hundred. We all go out, all the same smoke....Black man and white men he no can live".⁵

Cunninghame/

1. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 171.

2. So he writes about all primitive peoples, when speaking of the Guaraní Indians in "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 188.

3. E.g. the bushmen in South Africa.

4. So of the wandering forest Indians: "Jose Antonio Paez" p. 88.

5. P. 186.

Cunninghame Graham, in the same story, puts his finger on the spot where the hurt lay: the callous pressure on natives to bridge at one bound a gap which it took us centuries to bridge. His attitude to commercial imperialism (and his understanding that this is not malevolently intended) is as adequately expressed in terms of this story as in any of his other writings. He declares:

"But it needs nothing but the presence of the conquering white man, decked in his shoddy clothes, armed with his gas-pipe gun, his Bible in his hand, schemes of benevolence deep-rooted in his heart, his merchandise (that is, his whisky, gin, and cotton cloths) securely stowed in his corrugated iron-roofed sheds, and he himself as active and persevering as a beaver or red ant, to bring about a sickness which, like the "modorra", exterminates the people whom he came to benefit.
.....Curious, and yet apparently inevitable, that our customs seem designed to carry death to all the so-called inferior races, whom at a bound we force to bridge a period which it has taken us a thousand years to pass."¹.

"Curious, and yet apparently inevitable..." Part of the significance of "Higgenson's Dream" is that it reveals the dilemma in which men of good will and men of self-will were alike placed. Higgenson had grown up free of the prejudices and formalities of civilization, learning to value the natives' way of life.² He had shown enterprise, it seemed, both on his own and the island's behalf.³ Yet to wake up to the effects was a nightmare. Higgenson's despair is really Cunninghame Graham's. He cannot see how the extension of our civilisation can be halted or made kindly.⁴ His thought was shaped at a time of the naked impact of civilization on civilization/

1. "Thirteen Stories", p. 181. 2. Ibid. p. 180.

3. Ibid p. 179.

4. He makes this explicit in "A Vanished Arcadia" p. 287 and "Mirages" Pre. xii.

civilization, especially in Africa. It did seem that the weakest would simply go to the wall. The hope of gradual adaptation, with respect shown for native customs and rights appeared a pipe-dream. What he could do was to reveal in stark clarity the ill that men thought good, and the dilemma posed to the British public by their manifold imperialism.

In his book "The Conquest of the River Plate", he recognises that it is no good dwelling on might-have-beens. The Spanish conquistadors would have been better to stay at home and civilize themselves rather than embark on their adventure in the New World; but since they had taken another course the only thing left was to soften the blow, as Nunez and La Gasca attempted to do.¹ Increase of trade and commerce he counted necessary for the health of a country, if it were judiciously introduced. In "A Retrospect" he can express his love for the prospect of the old Buenos Aires - and at the same time rejoice in the docks, cars, etc., which evidence a different development of the country's life.²

A fermenting Western industrial civilization was bursting the wineskins of earlier social forms in the world. The cult of progress was an accessory in the process, heralding all change as good, rationalising the effects on native peoples into the bearing of the white man's burden. Societies were sustaining the shock of naked impact, were being undermined, evacuated of their identity, pushed out of existence. Cunninghame Graham's attitude is consistent

1. p. 177.

2. Sketch included in "A Hatchment". The point made is borne out in judgments in "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", pp. 102, 114, 121.

consistent with that given in his view of democracy. Societies, like men in society, had a peculiar gift to bring to the richness of the world. Their identity was precious. When it was usurped, the world became drab and impoverished. He fronted advancing civilization on this score. He challenged besides its quality, all devoid as it seemed of grace, of "clinging kinship" between man and man, ruthless as it appeared in its treatment of its own slaves and in its imposition of slavery on others. Much of what he detested in it stemmed from the pattern dictated by industrial development. To the industrialisation of society he gave full attention.

The Machine Age.

With his friend, William Morris, Cunninghame Graham shared the nostalgia for an age of spontaneity, beauty, craftsmanship and chivalrous fellowship which may never have existed, but was more to be identified with the Middle Ages than any other. This nostalgia was an ingredient in the thought of the second half of last century.^{1.} Gabrielle had it in more extreme form than her husband. In an article on "Art and Commercialism" she advocates something like a Gandhian "return to the spinning wheel," where each man would grind his own meal, shear his own sheep, dye his own wool and make his own garments.^{2.} She does not have the balance and realism of her husband, but they did share this backward-looking on a society which was more spontaneous/

1. It is expressed in inverse form in Marxism, in the type of society imagined when the state has withered away.
2. In "Today", February 1889.

spontaneous and accorded men simple dignity.

With William Morris and with Rev. Stewart Headlam, Cunninghame Graham's spirit was in revolt against the drabness and sordidness of life produced by industrialization. Slums, overwork, tuberculosis, starvation, prostitution, drunkenness, the dreary treadmill of the caged human squirrel, grass and lungs blackened by soot and fumes - these were the gems in industry's crown. The world was a vast, noisy unloveliness wherever it reigned:

"....La Machina, with its corrugated iron roofs, its derricks and the appliances of commerce that have rendered all the world great, prosperous, and most uncomely to the eye".^{1.}

Looking at a wild vista in Florida, he says:

"What can be better than a space left waste by the Creator of the world, who for some purpose of His own, jewelled His work with fragrant "weed prairies", and set his rhododendrons wild on the mountains, planting his Argentina on the river sides of oceans of green grass on the great pampas of the South. Of course, He did not know that we should find His work unfinished, till we had set it full of factory chimneys and the like, or maybe He had worked upon another plan and made it all a heap of scoria red to our hand".^{2.}

Our work - how often is his main charge reduced to this - is in its essence blasphemous. His main concern is with what industry was doing to people.

The railway was his bete noir. It has to bear the charge, which is really aimed at industry, of "levelling all mankind to the lowest common multiple",^{3.} of "....making the whole world but a replica of Leeds".^{4.} Industry, when it dominated human society, produced/

1. Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu, p. 127. So he speaks also in "Redeemed", pp. 31, 76 and "Hope" p. 54, as in many other places.

2. "Hernando de Soto", p. 50.

3. "Mogreb-el-Acksa" p. 116.

4. "Success", p. 57.

produced a black sameness in individuals and in countries. It also upset the perspective of life. The one hope in this regard would appear to be the Iona magic - which can make fairies, martyrs and a steamer belong naturally to the same world - paralleled in Spain by the railway, which far from bending people to its will, "puts on some of the graces of a bullock cart".¹ A Sherif, who wonders at our ships, aeroplanes, cannons, microscopes, and who wonders yet more that we see them out of context, failing to appreciate God's power shown in them, and losing all sense of the other miracles of nature - the planets, the tides, the palm by the river,² - represents Cunninghame Graham's own conviction. Industry needs to be set in the world like hewn stone in the living rock from which a lighthouse might rise. Man's invention belongs with nature to one wonderful world.

But of yet greater concern to him was the enslavement of men to machines. Where this exists it makes the good news of God appear out of place. In "Charity" he writes:

"Machines ran to and fro.....seeming somehow as if they were the masters, and the pale men who drove them only the slaves of the great forces which they had brought into their lives.
.....men shrank into second place and seemed but to exist on sufferance, as tenders of machines.
The glad tidings preached so long ago, so fitted for the quiet ways and pastoral existence of those who heard them first, so strangely incongruous with us of modern times".³

"The pawns are human lives",⁴ in industrial development as he knew it.

Industry/

1. "Success", p. 74.
3. pp. 76,7.

2. "Brought Forward", pp. 160,1.
4. "Faith", p.146.

Industry is clearly anathema to him when it reduces the status of the creation and of men from that which God has afforded, to the dimension of man's grasping exploitation of nature and of his fellow man.

The industrialization of backward countries is viewed accordingly with the same misgiving as that which the whole civilizing process arouses. He sees industry extending like a black smudge over the earth. Yet he knows there is a release, a boon which it brings. He is ground between the upper and nether millstones:

"At times in the East, the horror of the West, with all its factories, its hurry and its smoke, its frauds and charities, and life rendered so complex by infinites of nothingness, falls out of recollection at the actual horror of what is present. Before one's eyes appear the mud, the dust, the heaps of garbage rotting in the sun, the scrofulous and leprous folk seem, with the halt and the maimed to comprise mankind....

Then the thought arises if machinery were introduced, things might amend. At least the wretched mules and donkeys might find their hell a little cooler.... ...the woman turning the stones to crush the corn be not so old at twenty, and when one was taken, the other not be so much inclined to cry: "Why was I left to suffer?" ¹.

He himself has no language but a cry. The worst features of industrialism seemed to be most prominent when it was exported. No man seemed to regard or to care.

Homage to Science.

A corollary to Cunninghame Graham's attitude to civilization and/

1. "Father Archangel of Scotland", pp. 131, 2.

and industrialisation is his attitude to science. While allowing applied science a due place in life's economy, he bursts the bubble of its pretentiousness. He deals with it as Isaiah deals with those who worship idols made by human hands, allowing the art, casting ridicule on the homage. The chief marvel of human discovery, he asserts, is in the miracles which reside in the world, not in their laborious unearthing.¹ Inventions may, in the end, make no contribution to significant living. What gain is there in taking a good dull man by air to Bagdad and bringing him back an ignoramus still?² The merely technical achievement of science bears no comparison to the permanent achievement of philosophy. Inventions become outdated, Plato never.³ Science can very readily be the ally of superstition, making itself seem all-sufficient in a man's mind so that one part of his mind remains credulous and dark.⁴ It is forever revising its certainties, so that to arrogate authority to it is incongruous. Dogmatism belongs to pseudo-scientists.⁵ In an article entitled "Science by Cablegram",⁶ which gives the best exposition of his evaluation of science, he derides those who

"....find the germs of all disease, now in a microbe or bacillus, and then fall down and worship what they have found, and in a year or two cast down the microbe and bacillus and find another God."

The ingenuousness of the scientist, who thinks his discipline a total one, and sends out his products haphazardly into a world believed capable of handling them altruistically is exposed in the passage/

1. Preface to "The Canon". 2. "Redeemed", p. 62.
3. Preface to "The Canon". 4. "Cartegena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 5.
5. "Progress", p. 185.
6. In the "Social Democrat", Vol. 1, No. 1.

passage:

"I see the man of science, bit by bit surmounting difficulties, solving problems, working whilst others sleep, so that in future all may sleep sounder, disease controlled, and still remaining in himself, apart from science, a mere child in knowledge of affairs, and thinking the Stock Exchange a noble institution to enable nations mutually to self-develop one another; believing parliament to be the assembled wisdom, purity, virtue, and patriotism of the land; taking all women to be pure, all men brave, all editors to be men to whom is given in trust the direction of the public mind, and all imbued with the dignity of their position; and taking ministers of all religions (though he believes in none) to be modest and unsectarian...."¹.

So life is eased and made bitter from the same source. Machines lighten toil and lighten wages. "Out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing. My brethren, these things ought not so to be."².

Genuinely and generously Cunninghame Graham expressed gratitude for dedicated men of science.¹ But he saw the ill wished on the world when science was separated ~~in~~ its activity from the larger issues of life, and was made self-authenticating in its proceeds. The shock to scientists produced by the use of the atomic bomb, the work of their own brains and hands, illustrates the correctness of his diagnosis and the timely nature of his warnings, half-a-century earlier. Science was being given the title of divinity when it was meant to be the humble servant of man. He will not worship, nor will he allow others tamely to worship, what is, after all, but an "idealised idol".¹.

1. "Science by Cablegram": article in the "Social Democrat"
Vol. No. 1.

2. The General Epistle of James, ch. 3, v. 10.

b. ECONOMIC THEORY AND REALITY.

The Prevailing Outlook.

Towards the end of the Victorian era, state intervention on an increasing scale was being accepted by all parties, sometimes by men unwitting of what they were doing. But laissez-faire theories still held the field against this divergence in practice. Piety encouraged the belief that men were in the place in which it had pleased God to set them and should set their minds on things which were above, not on changing their condition.

The automatic adjustment of the market in terms of supply and demand still held good for theory, whilst it was being questioned empirically. As we have noted, Malthus' thesis about the growth of population was taken to mean that there would always be a substratum of poverty and squalor. Political economists of the old school showed a bland complacency about man's misery, which they believed belonged to the order of nature, and was irremediable. The following two quotations from answers in the House by members of the Government reveal the attitude adopted. The first was in reply to a n excellent speech made by Cunningham Graham on the advantage of the shorter working day:

"No doubt there are still many persons unemployed and he feared there always must be....The fact must be faced that, even in the most prosperous times, there must be large numbers of persons unemployed."1.

The second was regarding starvation in East London and a plea that work should be provided for the workless:

"I/

1. Mr. Ritchie, on March 7th., 1889, Hansard.

"I am not aware of any measures which any Government could take which would prevent such a sad and sorrowful occurrence".^{1.}

I think it is not too much to say that Cunninghame Graham was an outstanding figure among those who promoted the transference of idea of society's obligation to its underprivileged, from that of the relief of pauperism (the duty to see that sufficient crumbs are provided from the economic table just to prevent starvation), to the protection of the workman in his job and health and status as one who co-operates with the employer and the state in gaining the end, the well-being of society.

His unremitting distaste for current political economy comes from the sheer want of charity and commonsense in its deterministic outlook:

"We all know, that is those of us, who have read the political economists, that if the poor perish it is very sad but it can't be helped.....every plate of turtle soup a rich man eats keeps some poor man from starving....."^{2.}

With Sir Thomas More he sees life as ".....a certain conspiracie of rich menne, seeking their own commodities, under the name and title of the common wealth",^{3.} Present economic theories prevail because it suits men to hold them. Commerce, competition, capital, the Stock Exchange, Joint Stock Companies, are all words of disgust to him - they are means of putting "a rascal's ring round the globe".^{4.} Where brutish self-interest prevails, theory aids and abets.

The job to be undertaken is once again one of necessary iconoclasm. He has to demolish any idea in men's minds that laws like the law of 5% are ordained by God. At a Miners' Demonstration at Musselburgh held during his Parliamentary career, a report of which is preserved in a Scrap Book, he says:

"Day/

1. Mr. W.H. Smith, on April 15th., 1890. Hansard.
2. Article "Utopia" in the "People's Press", Oct. 11th., 1890.
3. Article "Utopia" in the "People's Press", Oct. 11th., 1890.
4. "Thirteen Stories", p. 212.

"Day by day the working classes, owing to the pressure of laws facetiously called economic and divine, were sinking into a worse condition.... Was there anything divine in the law which allowed one man to create a royalty or a robbery on the minerals that he did not create, or in the system that allowed one man to build up a colossal fortune by rendering half of his fellow countrymen little better than slaves? For himself he saw nothing but pure devil's work in that."

In a speech¹ at a Farmers' Dinner at Balfron, made some thirty-five to forty years after this, he still maintains firmly that economic laws are made by man and were there to be changed when change is needed.²

The Suffering of the Poor.

In his pamphlet "Economic Evolution", Cunningham Graham describes the effects on an Irish village of the arrival of capital. The mill which was to be the glory and prosperity of the place, reduces the villagers to serfdom, makes them poorer than before, and upsets their happy, inconsequential way of living. It is the evil effects on people of prevailing economic theory and practice which spurs him to continual protest. He knew the sufferers.

Unforgettably he points the moral of our economic regime in his description of the funeral of Queen Victoria.³ The glory and panoply are set before us, and like a solemn drum-beat, throughout the writing, comes the assertion that the Queen was the mother of all her people, even of the least. When the funeral is over, a ragged tramp scavenges among the paper for scraps of food at which the dogs turn up their noses, and, pulling his poor coat around him, moves away, munching the discarded remnants.

On his readers he laid the demand of compassion for these, the sheerest/

1. Preserved in another Scrap Book.

2. In a letter to "The Speaker", on 11th. Oct. 1890, he rejoiced that "the dogmas of the so-called science of political economy" had lost weight with workmen.

3. In "Success".

Sheerest outcasts of Society, the "strange and ragged loiterers" who have lost all semblance of dignity:

"Mechanically they scratched themselves, their hands like claws of mangy vultures, raking among their rags. Munching a hunk of dirty bread, they passed into the night, a silent menace to their well-fed brothers in the Lord. All that by day is hidden from our sight was out, giving the lie to optimists, to statisticians, and to all those who make pretence to think that progress makes for happiness, and that the increase of wealth acts as a sort of blotting pad on poverty, and sucks up grief".^{1.}

But his chief and constant concern is with ordinary people deprived of work, of freedom, of status by the place allotted to them in the social system, by the practical outcome of the economic theory which governed the social system.

Such was the condition of the poor workers as he saw it, that it was almost useless trying to get them concerned with larger issues. Their life could not be more miserable under foreign dominion.^{2.} They had no leisure, so could not be concerned with elevating their status:

"No self-improvement, moral or otherwise, is to be expected from a man who goes from bed to the workshop and from the workshop to bed again, and who passes his life in an unceasing round of toil more fitted for mill-horses than men".^{3.}

They had become:

"...mere cog wheels in great machines, whose evolutions they could never make or mar, nor even hinder, protest they as they may...."^{4.}

For them wage-slavery had become natural.^{5.} They meekly forged their own fetters, by the very work which produced weapons of destruction used against others.^{6.}

Enclosed/

1. Ibid. p. 110.

2. He makes the point often - e.g., in a speech in the House, March 5th. 1889, and a speech in the Temperance Hall, Coatbridge before his election to Parliament.

3. Speech on March 6th. 1889. Hansard. 4. "The Conquest of New Granada", p. 73.

5. "Bernal Diaz Del Castillo, p. 233. 6. "Success", p. 11.

Enclosed in one of the Scrap-books is the account of an observer¹ who investigated conditions at the chain-making centre of Cradley Heath. He describes the situation, - men forced to work in ramshackle, draughty buildings, their wives working with them, stripped to the waist, their small children playing around in the dirt for want of anywhere else to go. He visited the hovels where they lived, found them open and bare, without a particle of food in evidence. Their wages for a working week of 60 hours were: men, 5/-d., women 4/-d. Attention had been drawn to their condition previously by inspectors' reports, but the House had not bestirred itself. Cunninghame Graham became an agitator on their behalf- demanding "the most precious boon men can give one another - namely, sympathy",² sympathy expressed in terms of personal concern and altered wages and conditions. He asserts again that there is as substantial slavery in Cheshire as in any part of Africa or the East.³ In a speech at Coatbridge as a candidate, he describes the workman's lot:

".....simply the permission to toil all his life for twelve or thirteen hours daily for insufficient remuneration; and when at last, with joints crippled with rheumatism and the system broken down for want of proper food, there was in reserve for the years of his retirement, the well-appointed luxury of the Christian workhouse".

Christians culpably gave in to this situation, uncritically accepting it.⁴

The condition of workmen in great cities claimed his attention chiefly. But we find him always ready to plead for the crofters, whose life was miserably poor,⁵ and who were left unprotected, while the deer which ate/

1. It may well be Cunninghame Graham himself, though I think the internal evidence, on balance, is against this.
2. Spoken in the House, March 6th., 1889. Hansard.
3. In the House, March 6th., 1889. Hansard. 4. "Hernando de Soto", p.143 Footnote.
5. Indicated, e.g., in a speech in the House on March 4th., 1889. Hansard.

ate their crops enjoyed full protection.^{1.}

Cunninghame Graham had himself known hunger in his wide journeyings. But his extremity was always temporary. He knew it would sometime be relieved. We can understand how first-hand experience could produce his heartfelt agreement with the Spanish saying that every evil on God's earth is less with bread,^{2.} how he could look on bread as something sacred.^{3.} But by what alchemy did a rich man like himself get such understanding not only of hunger but of the horror of unemployment, so that he knew its very marrow? Often quite alone in the House, feeling a sense of his own unworthiness to bear such a burden,^{4.} he urged the government to reduce hours of labour to absorb the unemployed, to undertake work which would give them jobs, - to put an end to their pestilential lack of sympathy. And when he wrote of an unemployed man, it is clear that he has made his experience his own:

"I take it that no desert journey in the East, nor yet the awful tramp of the man who left afoot walks for his life, on pampa or prairie, is comparable in horror to the journey of the workman out of work.....the very dogs have their appointed place in the economy of the world, whilst he alone, willing to work, with hands made callous by the saw, the hammer, file, the plough, axe, adze, scythe, spade and every kind of tool, a castaway, no use, a broken cog-wheel, and of less account than is the cat which sits and purrs outside the door, knowing that it has its circle of admirers who would miss it if it died".^{5.}

He feels for the unemployed man, convicted of larceny at Tyneside, who wrote in his diary: "Why don't they preach a substantial bodily sermon to poor devils like us..."^{6.} There was no bodily sermon. In Canning Town, about/

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1. Letter to the Press contained in a Scrap Book.
 2. "Success", p. 191
 3. Like the goatherd in "Redeemed", p. 125.
 4. March 5th., 1889. Hansard.
 5. "Success", pp. 193, 4, 5.
 6. Extracts were included in a newspaper cutting preserved in a Scrap Book.

about the same time, only 1,200 out of 5,000 men had regular employment; at the Dock Gates hundred stood for hours in bitter cold, so bent on getting a ticket for a few hours work that they would climb lamp posts and roll over the heads of their fellows to grab their chance. The rigid laws of the economic system took their course.

His Championship of the Poor.

What roused Cunninghame Graham's ire in Parliament was the callous indifference shown on both sides of the House, or the subjection of the underprivileged to party manoeuvres. Because their case was not taken seriously he considered the whole system of Parliamentary Government to be on trial. Up till then it did not justify itself.¹ He would have liked to see the Galleries of the House larger, so that people might be able to see the difference between platform promises and the actual attention they received from their representatives.² He was specially hard on the Liberals, his own party, who were so ready to make capital out of oppression in Ireland, but because oppression in Britain was tied up with their own financial interests, stayed dumb.³ In a letter to the Dundee Radical Association, thanking them for their response to his invitation to support Keir Hardie's nomination in Mid-Lanark, he states his attitude briefly:

"Tories are Landowners, Liberals Capitalists in Parliament; the division lists tell their tale, neither are real friends of the working classes."

They are "two licensed hordes of plunderers" who avoided "the essential question/

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1. Letter to Dundee Radical Association, probably about 1888, contained in a Scrap Book.
 2. In the House, 15th. November 1888. Hansard.
 3. So he takes John Morley to task in "Latitudinal Influence", an article in "The People's Press", October 4th., 1889.

question - the condition of the poor."¹ Their popular cries were stalking horses under cover of which to crawl into Downing Street.² Liberals in power were as oppressive as Tories, and as neglectful of the rights of the poor - witness the breaking up of meetings and processions on the very first day of the Asquith-Gladstone-Morley regime,³ and Gladstone's compassion for the oppressed in Ireland, Italy, and Bulgaria, but not for those at home.⁴ Working people should keep aloof and seek to hold the balance of power so as to bring pressure on both.⁵ This he maintained from a very early point in his Parliamentary career. Until his candidature was successful, he believed that the Liberals were genuinely concerned with victims of the economic system, and was as loud in his praise of Gladstone as any of his party. But his tune changed once he was able to compare reality in the House with pretensions outside. There can be few parallels in the Parliamentary history to such trenchant criticism of a party to which one belongs, as that which Cunninghame Graham levelled at Liberalism.

What, then, was to be done? The remedy lay in constitutional assertion of the rights and interests of the underprivileged. The appropriate method was agitation. Within the House he agitated for those measures which would encourage people to gain a new sense of responsibility, which would give enough freedom to foster revolt against their condition.⁶ He agitated outside, pleading with other working class leaders to have patience and to understand/

1. Stated in an address to the Junior Liberal Ass. in Aberdeen, probably in 1888.
2. Stated in a letter to "Commonweal", preserved in a Scrap Book.
3. Noted in a letter to the "Daily Sketch", preserved in a Scrap Book.
4. Stated in a letter to a Govan candidate, dated December 28th., 1888, preserved in a Scrap Book.
5. Stated in a Press interview about the contest in Mid-Lanark, probably 1888.
6. Speaking on Cradley Heath, March 7th., 1889, Hansard; also on March 5th. and 6th. on the general question of the poor; and frequently elsewhere.

understand how difficult it was to rid people of the slave mentality,¹
(Abraham Lincoln had once said the biggest part of the struggle would be with the slaves themselves); and roundly rating the poor themselves for putting so little pressure on their representatives and making so little use of the power to vote. In the House he not only made an issue of conditions at Cradley Heath: he described the sufferers as "guilty of culpable negligence" in not laying their case openly before the public.² Speaking to a great crowd of "the landless and the labourless", who cheered him to the echo at an open-air meeting on Clerkenwell Green in November 1887,³ he firmly asserted: "....they must wake up, not only to a sense of their own wrongs, which was easy enough, but also to their duties and power....", and pleaded for an intelligent use of this new political power. An outside observer, one, James Young, who wrote an article on Gladstone's visit to Edinburgh, noted Cunninghame Graham's lonely championship of the worker in the House, and pressed this same point home:

"That the case of the worker does not occupy its proper place in the forefront of Parliamentary business is altogether the fault of the worker himself. One man may do much, but why place on the necessarily inadequate shoulders of one man a burden which could easily be placed upon a Parliamentary majority?..."⁴

A majority in the House was the ultimate answer. But meantime?

The constituencies only needed to show themselves in earnest:

"Every politician, Liberal and Tory alike is a squeezable animal. Why not squeeze him?"⁵

He leaves no doubt in the minds of the underprivileged whom he addressed that/

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1. H.M. Hyndman had a very low view of the working-class mentality. Sidney Webb tended to be impatient - so Cunninghame Graham protests in "The People's Press" of July 5th. 1890.
 2. March 7th. 1889. Hansard.
 3. Report of speech preserved in Scrap Book.
 4. "People's Press", Nov. 8th., 1889.
 5. An article on "Parliament and the Miners" preserved in a Scrap Book. Cunninghame Graham consistently urges men to see that their representatives do represent them.

that they must be up and doing. They had their part to play in bringing new economic ways of thinking into operation. They were being hindered by the same selfishness and indolence which marked the outlook of merchant and landowner.^{1.}

The methods advocated are always constitutional. Speaking in Glasgow, while on bail for his part in the Trafalgar Square incident, he advocates "making the country unendurable to the ruling classes". But immediately he adds "now that was not sedition...." At a welcome meeting in Glasgow about the same time he asserted his aim was to:

"....teach the people the constitutional and therefore the strongest method by which they could bring pressure to bear upon the tyrants who cheated them and hated them."

His belief that economic laws are not outwith man's control lies at the foundation of his confidence that constitutional change will open the way to the relief of man's whole estate.

How truly did he represent the underprivileged? What truly was his motive?

To some, to whom he is little more than a name, his defence of the poor appears merely personal eccentricity. If this were true, his interest in their lot would be dilettante, his protagonism a means of ministering to his own self. He would be like Mathieu in "The Age of Reason" when he said:

"I enjoy railing against capitalism, and I don't want it suppressed, because I should no longer have any reasons for so doing. I enjoy feeling fastidious and aloof. I enjoy saying no, always no, and I should be afraid of any attempt to construct a finally habitable world, because I should merely have to say - yes: and act like other people". 2.

When/

1. Stated in a speech, contained in a Scrap Book, given at an unidentified place and time.

2. "The Age of Reason", Jean Paul Sartre. Hamish Hamilton, p. 147.

When I discover this attitude,^{1.} I find it depends on ignorance of the earlier period of his life, (up to 1895) and often much ignorance of his later life too.

A contemporary estimate of his Parliamentary contribution is probably a sufficient rebuttal of this point of view, which would seem to take account not of facts but simply of mannerisms. It appeared in the "Scottish Leader", and is preserved in a Scrap Book:

"Many critics set him down as eccentric, and so he is, if originality and fancifulness can be so represented. It is, however, more accurate to describe Mr. Cunninghame Graham as unconventional; certainly if he is eccentric, as the Tory critics insist, his eccentricity is of a very practical kind, as can be testified by political organisers in Scotland, by the agricultural labourers whom he has assisted, and by the miners he has served with an assiduity and a degree of usefulness not exceeded by the more direct representatives of the working man."

By others his concern is attributed partly to an aristocratic disdain of riches, and of those who are bent on acquiring or keeping them. Among these are Frank Harris, in his "Contemporary Portraits", and Stephen Graham, in "The Death of Yesterday". Was he, like Tolstoy, the aristocratic enemy of the nouveaux riches, prepared to overturn society rather than see them prosper?

Cunninghame Graham condemned Tories and Liberals alike. He spoke much more for the poor than against the rich. He levelled exactly this charge at the Communists - they were inspired not so much by love of the poor as by hatred of the rich.^{2.} He did not simply speak for the poor - he was found among them, organising, acting on their behalf in a costly way. He was known as the "Miners' M.P.", the only man in the House to be trusted by the workers.

It is clear that he had no political ambition. He wanted to hand the/

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1. In interviewing people prominent in the Labour Movement; in social histories where passing reference is made to Cunninghame Graham.
 2. In a speech at Coatbridge, as a 'prentice politician, preserved in a Scrap Book.

the torch to representatives of the working-classes as soon as they came forward.^{1.} He was not long in Parliament when he was tipped as the leader of a new Socialist party. But he constantly insisted it was other people, from among the ranks of the workers themselves, who must take the lead. In an article on "Parliament and the Miners",^{2.} he says he wants to make it clear that no man like himself, however much he may sympathise, can ever properly represent them. He was actually not happy in the game of politics. Some greater object made him put up with them.

I can come to no other conclusion than that it was a sense of justice which induced him to enter the political arena, and a genuine concern for those deprived of it which kept them there. A hostile comment in a Scrap Book says:

"His sympathy for the working man is not believed to be very great, as working men are likely to discover when they have served his purpose."

It is true that he fitted awkwardly into their society. He remained an aristocrat. Yet whereas the first representatives of the workers in Parliament were very much overborne and proved generally ineffective for their cause; whereas there were many who were not sure where they stood in regard to Liberalism and Labour;^{3.} Cunninghame Graham had the welfare of the underprivileged and the political and economic means of reinstating them in society right at the forefront of his mind from first to last. Let a newspaper cutting of a meeting of the Kirkintilloch Miners' Association tell of the miners' regard for him:

"It was a long time since the miners of this country had such a friend as Mr. Cunninghame-Graham had proved himself to be. (Hear, hear). In season and out of season he was being spent in the miners'/"

1. See re Worker M.Ps. under the heading "Socialism".

2. Cutting preserved in a Scrap Book.

3. E.g., John Burns, who ended up a Liberal and a Right Honourable.

miners' cause, both on the floor of the House and elsewhere. He had seen Mr. Graham many a time stand in the open air, amid pelting rain, urging the men in eloquent and earnest tones on to noble deeds. His advocacy of the miners' cause was an unselfish act for he had no need to put himself in the forefront of such a fray, being in an independent position..."...¹.

When the sentences in the "Trafalgar Square" trial became known, the Scottish Miners' National Federation meeting in Glasgow decided to call a national strike until Cunninghame Graham was released (this plan was evidently not realised). On September 3rd., 1887, Cunninghame Graham claimed he was the spokesman of miners' unity on the Eight Hour question and later revealed that he had spoken recently at 63 or 66 meetings in every mining district in Scotland.² All the evidence points to his being the miners' trusted man.

And not their only. The friendly relationship with tenants on his own estate is given sufficient testimony at different times - and it is on his home wicket that a man's larger pretensions often fail.

He was in real measure, the people's champion. Reynolds News has it:

"There is no man in the House who has an honester sympathy with the people....
.....the gallant Graham, so fearless in the open, and so much at home among the people.....
He speaks as the delegate of hundreds of thousands of our countrymen. Let him be fearless in the discharge of his vast responsibility."³.

The incongruity is congruous in him: he was at one and the same time..."defenseur des opprimes, des malheureux, des vaincus, dandy et grand seigneur".⁴ It was for love of them that he faced "hostile colleagues on both sides of the House."⁵

At the root of an outraged sense of justice,⁶ there lay, I believe, his particular/

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1. Preserved in a Scrap Book.
 2. Speech in Hansard.
 3. Cutting preserved in a Scrap Book.
 4. "Don Roberto, Coureur D'Aventures."
 5. August 11th., 1888. Hansard.
 6. In his maiden speech in the House, he described our society as one "in which the capitalist makes Heaven for 30,000 and Hell for 30,000,000."

particular conception of equality and interdependence. He is conscious of the importance of the working man in the life of society. "I plead," he says...

"I plead on behalf of those who provide us with our hats, our hosen, our food, and even our seats in Parliament...."¹.

and again he speaks of the hardship of "poor men by whose labour we are all sustained."². Stephen Graham is to be thanked for preserving in his book "The Death of Yesterday", a short essay by Cunninghame Graham which I would not otherwise have been able to trace. The theme is the contribution to the life of Britain of "Smith" and "Smythe". Both the spirit of the writing and the essential theme are reproduced in the following extract:

"Out of Smith came London. He dug the clay; he burnt the bricks; he built the palaces; he made the drains and the Houses of Parliament. Smythe, of course, refrained from ennobling toil.... What Smith most wants, one might suppose, are shorter hours of work, more food of better quality, and, above all, to get Smythe off his back".

Cunninghame Graham was not prepared to allow economic theory to be the domain of schoolmen, while actual power was left where it was,³. with those who wanted to open the world like an oyster.⁴. He was not prepared to use different words for theft and cheating, when he met them in business and industry, from those customary for the poor crimes of the dispossessed. He was to warn hon. members in the House, that if the rage of the unemployed ever burst the floodgates:

"...should one of them try to disperse the hungry men by force, it would be better that a millstone be hung round his neck and that he be cast into the sea."⁵.

What/

1. February 24th., 1890. Hansard.
2. March 5th., 1889. Hansard. The underlining is mine. After the manner of Ecclesiasticus, he speaks of Smiths and Artificers sustaining life, in "Progress", p. 141; and similarly of the mill-hand in "Bernal Diaz Del Castillo", p. 185.
3. He iterates and reiterates this point of view in an article "Odium Theologicum" in "The People's Press", December 13th., 1890.
4. "Portrait of a Dictator", p. 22. 5. March 6th., 1889. Hansard.

What better indication do we need that the underprivileged were to him God's
"little ones"?

What better testimony that his own rage was the Christian rage of love?

c. SOCIAL ASPIRATION.

Trade Unions.

That the degrading, impoverished condition of Britain's working class was not exaggerated by Cunninghame Graham's imagination, was made clear in Charles Booth's famous survey, which appeared between 1889 and 1891, "Labour and Life of the People". It afforded unimpeachable evidence that 32 per cent of London's population was living below subsistence level with the figure in the East End (the focus of Cunninghame Graham's concern) 60 per cent. From this survey the working class gained allies among the middle classes. But a change towards justice in actual industrial conditions would have been immeasurably slower and more difficult, had it not been for the emergence of the New Unionism.

When Cunninghame Graham began his political life, the trade unions then in existence covered only some 10 per cent of the working population. As has been indicated earlier, they were part union, part Friendly Society, and inclined to husband their funds. They believed in direct negotiation with employers. They distrusted legislative action through the parliamentary power. Year after year they opposed the Eight-hour day proposed in the Trades Union Congress. They held a traditional monopoly and did not want to see it usurped by the inclusion of masses of semi-skilled and unskilled workers under the one umbrella.^{1.} The one exception to this was the miners' organisations.

The result was that those workers who were unorganised, by and large all existed in a sweated condition. The notorious example was Cradley Heath, where/

1. In the 1884 annual report of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress the possibility of an international conference of Trade Unions was turned down in these terms: "the position we assume is that we are so well organised, so far ahead of foreign workmen that little can be done until these are more on a level with the skilled workers of Britain". No better instance of unconscious assumption of privilege could have been made by employers.

where a young man and young woman earned 5/- and 4/- per week, and those who were not so strong, less. The strike which took place there~~in~~ the autumn of 1886 was one of desperation - of those who were starving in any case, and thought they might as well starve protesting as starve overworking. The strikers' demands tell their own tale. For an agreed 60 hour week, they merely asked for a wage of 13/- for men and 8/6d. for women. They had come to the pass in which they found themselves, simply by reason of their unprotected state. The employers had introduced women's labour, thus cutting wages. Fierce competition made the selling price of the products very low. Helpless in the grip of the maneouvering of employers, and the inflexible economic law of the market, the workers suffered till they could suffer no more, and came out on strike.^{1.}

Many of the strikes in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century ended miserably, as the sight of emaciated children forced people back to work on the same old terms, or worse. But increasingly better weapons of representation and pressure were forged; and success here and there gave impetus to the new Trade Unionism. One of the most difficult things to deal with during this period was the sweating of home workers. Home shirt-makers, for instance, received 8¹/₂d. per dozen shirts.^{2.}

The first Dock Strike, led by Ben Tillett in 1886, was a failure. Then came the greatest encouragement of this decade. Bryant and May's match girls, without organisation or much premeditation, struck against their conditions, and with the aid of Mrs. Annie Besant's impassioned public pleading won their/

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1. Among Cunninghame Graham's papers we have noted a contemporary account of the situation, in pamphlet form, by a "Sunday Chronicle" investigator. The information given here is culled principally from this document, checked against other accounts. Match-box makers and hook-and-eye carders were at least as poorly paid.
 2. "Fifty Years' March", by F. Williams, p. 38.

their battle. The next advance was the achievement of an eight-hour day with increased wages for strikers in the London Gas Industry, and there followed the successful London Dock Strike of 1889. There was an immense spurt in Trade Union membership throughout the country (which, among Cunninghame Graham's papers, is witnessed by the increase in number and voice of unions adopting the "People's Press" as their organ.)¹ The depression of the early 1890s provided a severe test, and witnessed many set-backs to the new trade unions. But they survived, and offered to the next century the possibility of a complete organisation of the workers of this country in all trades.

The achievement of John Burns, Ben Tillett, Thomas Mann, Will Thorne and other working class leaders in promoting the extension of unionism to unskilled and semi-skilled workers, is well-known and rightly appreciated. But the part of Cunninghame Graham, in the House, and in the encouragement of strikers in the open air and with the pen, is neglected and has been forgotten.

In the material which has come to my hands he makes two principal assertions: (a) trade unions have a necessary place in the structure of industry, for all classes of workers, (b) they must get Parliamentary backing.

(a) Cradley Heath may once more testify to his realism, in this case regarding the need for organisation of the poor. How long are women to work at the anvil, at work for which they are unfitted, and neglect their domestic duties? "So long probably," he answers, "as workers for a want of union, leave themselves at the mercy of the heartless and selfish capitalist."² He implores workers of all kinds and in all situations not to neglect organisation. Visiting Kirriemuir³./

1. Cunninghame Graham preserved copies from 1890-1 in bound form.

2. From a newspaper cutting contained in a Scrap Book, giving a Press interview.

3. A report appears in "The People's Press", October 25th., 1889.

Kirriemuir he finds relatively good terms existing between employers and employed; but he reminds them that conditions may change and wages be reduced, that trade unionism means a countrywide backing for just demands, and steady improvement in social conditions - which they could not afford to be without; and urges the necessity of union membership upon them. He puts the point succinctly in an article^{1.} on the Liverpool Dock Strike: "...labour must combine or else it will be crushed."

In Parliament he was alert to any unjust hindrances to trade union activity, especially acting as the advocate of postmen and policemen, who were being fined and demoted for attending trade union meetings, or for attempting to improve their wages and conditions through some form of organisation.^{2.}

In an article in the "People's Press" entitled "Ca' Canny", he deals with the principle involved in the possession of negotiating machinery^{3.}:

"Trade Unionism lays down as a principle that a man (even if he can) should not do double the work of his fellows, or set the price too much, because that lowers wages. Every serious union insists most strongly on limiting the output. Commercial men never dream of flooding the market with too great quantities of a commodity at a given time."

Men should treat their labour in the same way, so ~~that~~ its true value might be seen.

In an article a fortnight later he says that the reduction of overtime is a principal plank in trade unionism. Otherwise employers take the opportunity to reduce wages and extend the working day. A shorter working day would help the unemployed to find work. All men, the unemployed included, were to benefit by the power of trade unionism. There was to be no new privileged/

1. In "The People's Press", April 5th., 1890.

2. A speech on June 6th., 1890 in Hansard, best represents this concern.

3. Issue of November 29th., 1890.

privileged class, no artisan aristocracy.

(b) State legislation was needed to supplement Trade Unionism. He puts the point quite clearly in his political career:

"Far be it from him to attack Trade Unions; but he wished to supplement trade unionism. Where trade unionism was too weak to support the working classes, he wished Parliament to step in and give them that protection by giving them an eight hour day."¹.

In an article written three years later, he makes the point that trade unions could raise wages only in reference to the existing economic conditions, whereas an eight-hour working day supplementing union efforts would do much to alter these conditions themselves.² In Parliament a great part of the battle was to be fought. Parliament could be altered, so could the T.U.C. - let the workers alter both, have their own mind expressed through them, take hold on the legislative centres of their weal or woe.³

Let his own words bear him witness:

"It appears to me that all a Trade Union is capable of achieving is to prevent for a little the fall of wages in the face of a falling market, or raise them a little in the face of rising prices.....

.....I have always thought that it is futile in the extreme to attempt to reform the condition of a people without first reforming the Government. Surely the Government is the fountain and source of the national life.....Government may make combination impossible, if the working classes neglect to avail themselves of the opportunity to return members to Parliament.

(he urges this).....in order that Parliament, as at present, may not be hostile to the interests of the working classes, but gradually become permeated by them....."⁴.

One of the most interesting things about this period is the insight and unselfishness of the new trade unions. We find them prepared to push their own interests more quietly, that they may give priority to the achievement of Parliamentary/

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1. Sept. 3rd., 1887. Hansard.
 2. "The People's Press", Dec. 13th., 1890.
 3. "The People's Press", Aug. 16th., 1890.
 4. "The People's Press", July 26th., 1890.

Parliamentary legislation for an eight-hour day, in the belief that that would help the whole working class. When the T.U.C. was captured¹ by them (at Cunninghame Graham's insistent instigation) and became a platform of their policies, the eight-hour day became one of their chief demands.

Where there was a trouble-spot, there very often was Cunninghame Graham to be found,² agitating for the assumption of power by the workers in negotiation and legislation, fostering the growth of trade unionism. Yet he was no one-track-mind protagonist. He was always ready to criticise his own cherished convictions wherever he saw their shortcomings in practice. Many years later, of the King Vulture, he wrote:

"The kind adopts the air as of a Czar of Russia, or a Trade Union leader, aloof and quite oblivious of the wishes of his subjects."³

This is part of the singular value of his contribution - the largeness of his vision. He was also able to see that there were societies where trade unionism did not fit, and merely interfered with more fundamental, healthy relationships.⁴

At the particular time in history when his influence was felt in national politics, Cunninghame Graham's championship of the new unionism counted for a very great deal. That someone who was aristocratic by birth, a landowner, a far-travelled and cultured man, should join forces with working class agitators, strengthened the appeal of right in their case. An election leaflet of the time puts it:

"Graham of Gartmore and such men, taking part with the people and thinking their thoughts, are the indication of a peaceful and ordered reform rapidly drawing nigh.....The Scottish people gladly welcome refined and cultured men as leaders. They can march/

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1. in 1890.
 2. There is extant notice of a Memorial of Glasgow shipowners to the Home Secretary asking for protection of life and property by restraining Cunninghame Graham and Keir Hardie from making inflammatory speeches.
 3. "Jose Antonio Paez", p. 12. 4. "Success", p. 20.

march on without them, but they can march on better with them".^{1.}

Cunninghame Graham was among the principal midwives who brought the new unionism to birth, and he helped to preside over its early growth.

More clearly than most of the leaders he saw the necessity of trade unionism going hand in hand with Parliamentary power. H.H. Champion was an ally in some of his pleading.^{2.} But in crucial matters - the condition of the poor, the right of free speech evidenced in the Trafalgar Square riot, the passing of an Eight Hours' Bill, - he seems among M.Ps. to have had a monopoly of prophetic righteousness. It is his continual plea that workers get legislative power into their own hands by the appointment of representatives from among their own ranks, as M.Ps., and that they alter the economic structure of the state and not simply gain better terms for themselves in relation to society as it stands.

The Strike Weapon.

The election leaflet referred to earlier, speaks of "a peaceful and ordered reform rapidly drawing nigh." It was this kind of reform that Cunninghame Graham sought.

He is in two minds about the value to the workers of the strike weapon. They have the ultimate argument in their capacity to bring the State to a standstill.^{3.} In a letter to the Labour Tribune^{4.} he urges miners to make their mind known in Parliament, and if they will not be heard to "paralyse the industries of the world" by universal use of the strike weapon.

He/

1. Undated among Cunninghame Graham's papers.

2. He appeals publicly for information to support Cunninghame Graham's revelations on poverty, when the latter was in prison.

3. "People's Press", Article on "The State", October 18th., 1890.

4. An undated cutting in a Scrap Book.

He believed the time might come when the deprived should show their strength.

But his was a last resort, and a bad resort. Cunningham Graham could look at the effects with the eyes of the sufferers, weary of:

"....seeing their women and children starve during strikes and of being beaten as regularly as the money fails"...¹.

and with the eyes of the capitalist, in the same article:

the ".... smug sweating christian....does not care a dump for strikes, as a general rule, knowing that he will have no suffering to endure, but, on the contrary, will see his goods get dearer every day the strike continues."

He adds that what the employer fears is reduction in the hours of labour.

Hear him again:

"It is, I think, a vulgar error to suppose that all employers of labour necessarily fear a strike. To some of them a strike is as welcome as flowers in Spring.... (the capitalist uses it)...to restrict output, and enable him to get rid of surplus stock".².

Speaking in the House, he states as his reason for pleading with them to come to men's aid by favourable legislation:

"...the extreme undesirability of strikes.....
...enormous waste of energy and capital and danger of social turmoil".³.

He advocates "ca' canny" as a preferable alternative in the article of that name:

".... the "hands" by limiting their "labour force" have in their power a more potent weapon than all the strikes imaginable."⁴.

The judicious, organised offering or withdrawal of effort seems to him to be the most potent weapon the workers have.

Constitutional/

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1. "People's Press", article on "Ca' Canny", Nov. 29th., 1890.
 2. In a contribution to "People's Press", July 26th., 1890.
 3. February 24th., 1890. Hansard.
 4. "People's Press", Nov., 29th., 1890.

Constitutional Change.

However much he may on occasion give support to more violent remedies, his final hope is in constitutional change. He is called an anarchist in a Spanish paper (but, then, in the U.S.A. Socialists are "Reds"!); and in a Preface he says "the man of Christ's kingdom upon earth should be an anarchist" since there would need to be such a holocaust of conventions to initiate it.¹ This remark stands alone and unsupported - there was too strong a conservative strain in his make-up for the word "anarchist" to fit him at all. With his knowledge of the uncertain gain of revolutions in South America, and his realistic assessment of the power held by those who benefit from the status quo in Britain, he vividly realised the delicate nature of reform, the careful handling it required. He characterises it:

"Reform, that kittle heifer always apt to overkick the stool and leave the milker in the dust, with his cans clattering about his ears....."²

In a "People's Press" article he speaks of the two ways of change open to men: violent revolution "which is alien to the spirit and tradition of your race," or legal action.³ Though the working man is determined to be free, even if that means pulling the social fabric about his ears,⁴ he will direct him into the latter of the two courses. A more lengthy quotation from an article entitled "Individual Effort" will best represent the neat balance of his opinion:

"Revolution simply means change, whether accompanied by force or not. I contend that, should the occasion arise, it would be both foolish and cowardly to shrink from using force against those who, for 300 years, have never scrupled to use force against the working classes/

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1. Preface to "Revolutionary Tunes" by I.A. Taylor.
 2. Preface to "The Truth about Morocco", by M. Aflalo.
 3. Article entitled "The Bloody City" in "The People's Press", Aug. 16th., 1890.
 4. "Lessons of the Congress", "The People's Press", Sept. 20th., 1890.

classes, when occasion seems to require, or when corrupt or partial judges (and we have plenty such) would justify it. However, as I have no love for needless bloodshed, and little faith in the durability of social (not political) changes brought about by sudden effort....

..... a sudden violent change, even though it might abolish follies like the throne and lords, still would leave the world the thrall of money-bags and competition..."¹.

So he expressed his own hope that:

"..... we may see our scheme of life transformed by slow degrees before our eyes..... and this without a single massacre of innocent men."¹.

I believe that the attitude of mind represented by Cunningham Graham in these quotations about trade unionism and strikes, expresses exactly the outlook which made constitutional change possible in this country, and which offered an example to the world of his sounder method of the achievement of justice.². We find in him the conviction that the workers must be up and doing, learning a new solidarity and responsibility and exercising it themselves - and the conviction that they need the help of Parliamentary legislation to gain and maintain their freedom. We find a strong sense of human rights and of the need for change towards justice - and a strong sense of the value to society of order and stability. We find him ready to judge a time apt for bloody revolution - and determined to do all he can in order that the dire consequences of bloody revolution might not have to be risked. In the Continental tradition, the forces which stood for order and the forces which stood for change became extremist and faced one another across barricades. The coherence of societies was jeopardised. It is well that we remember that our different social tradition/

1. "The People's Press", August 30th., 1890.

2. Its tradition is Bentham's gradualness as against Marx's trust in social explosion.

tradition was not achieved or preserved automatically, but through the courage and wisdom of prophets such as he. In him the God who brought order out of chaos, Who offers order in society as a good gift to men, and the God Who holds a plumbline against existing societies, was one God, honoured in action, even though only dimly perceived in His being.

III. SOCIAL CONVICTION.

His Programme.

Cunninghame Graham could not have been a genuine Socialist, it would appear. He remained a laird and landowner. He did not jettison the manner of living which belonged to his class. Either the description is mistaken, or it indicates a temporary diversion of interest which can be laid at the door of his eccentricity. So might a reader argue who has not thoroughly examined his social and political deliverances. We must turn to these to sort out various interpretations of his ultimate standing ground. To men who knew him, respected him, and worked with him, like Lord Provost¹ Kerr of Glasgow and Dr. John MacCormick, his outlook appeared basically conservative. To others of the same category, e.g., Provost² John Allan of Dunfermline, he appeared a most convinced Socialist; and in Obituaries in the "Manchester Guardian Weekly" and the "Times" he is so described. The difficulty of coming to an opinion about him may be indicated by the following criticism of A.F. Tschiffely's assessment of his position, made by Paul Bloomfield:

"It is, I think, easy to form a just idea of his political position. He was not a politician at all. When Burns was in the dock after the Trafalgar Square incident he spoke of himself as a Socialist, of Graham as "a Social Reformer". This was fair enough.... Graham in the eighties wanted (he would not have acknowledged this) a great discharge of evangelical loving kindness at once....I do not agree with Tschiffely that Graham was only a Socialist of sorts till he began to think the movement might after all succeed/

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1. As he was when interviewed by me in 1954.
 2. As he is in 1955.

succeed, and only because he liked lost causes; I think it was not till he foresaw the probable success of the Left that he fully realised the intractability of the psychological problem - the existence in all of us of that 'new presbyter' biding his time."¹.

The suggestion that he was no politician, that he was not committed to a genuinely Socialist but only to a reforming policy, that it was only "evangelical lovingkindness" he was after and not a structural change in the social order, that he lacked realism in assessing the effects of success on the Left, have only in part been dealt with. His political-social outlook must be examined more thoroughly. Over against Bloomfield's judgment we must put that of Professor West:

"Though Cunninghame Graham has always been a Socialist, he has been a pure aristocrat in his thinking and his way of life".².

In other words, we must examine also the possibility that his outlook can be expressed only in terms of seeming contradiction.

Fresh ideas about society resulted in the formation of important new groups in the early eighteen-eighties.

Until then Gladstonian Liberalism held the field unchallenged as the hope of the poorer classes. It may briefly be stated to have had a two-fold concern: to remove unfair advantages, social, political or racial from society, and to permit only that authority to which the governed consented - through custom or articulate choice. It made no frontal attack upon economic inequality or upon the form of society which supported it.

The/

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1. "The Essential R.B. Cunninghame Graham" Ed. Paul Bloomfield. Introduction, p. 23.
 2. Professor West's Biography, p. 20.

The groups which challenged the character of society were often short-lived and split up and amalgamated to form associations of different names. Some of their leaders were notoriously difficult to work with. Among these was H.M. Hyndman, who in 1881 founded the Democratic Federation, later to become the Social Democratic Federation. Its doctrine was thoroughly Marxist. At first it was recognised as the horse which carried the colours of the workers; but its policies lost ground in the latter part of the century. When the Labour Representation Committee was formed, it stood out; and in the end became the Communist Party of Great Britain. The Fabians came into existence in 1883. They were, especially earlier on, optimistic about the power of reason to convince people about the need for change and to produce commensurate social results. They opposed the doctrines of laissez-faire economists, exposed the horrors of capitalist society, attacked the conception of a community of interest between employers and employed, and followed a successful policy of the permeation of every vehicle of propaganda with their doctrines. They advocated municipal socialism, an eight-hour day, universal suffrage, higher education and the humanisation of legislation affecting the poor. It should be remembered that, without being conscious of the effects of what they were doing, the middle classes at this time were promoting municipal socialism, to protect themselves from the ill effects of muddle and disease; that/

that, after Gladstone's Franchise Bill of 1884, Labour representatives began to be elected to public boards; and that state intervention was becoming a more generally recognised possible way of dealing with national muddle and want. In 1888 the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party came into being, followed in 1890 by the Scottish Labour Party, and in 1893 by the Independent Labour Party. In 1900 the Labour Representation Committee was formed, and in 1906 its name was changed to the Labour Party.

Cunningham Graham acknowledged a certain debt to Marxism; but I find no evidence that he was ever more than generally associated with the Social Democratic Federation in support of the working-class, and his name is never linked with Hyndman's. He had close links with some of the Fabians, with Sidney Webb and with George Bernard Shaw (who was more an admirer than admired), and included their programme within his own. But he was never a Fabian. His lot was thrown in most definitely with the workers' struggle for political power. It is regarding his part in helping the Labour Party to birth that some historical reevaluation appears to me to be overdue.

The programme he set before the electors may best be represented by a write-up of him, probably in "The Star".¹ It has the advantage of comparing his commitment with that of the average Radical, and of indicating how early was his antipathy to the current method/

1. Retained in a Scrap Book. Internal evidence suggests "The Star" but it is not quite conclusive. The date is probably 1887.

method of working the electoral system:

"When he first contested North-West Lanarkshire at the General Election of 1885 he put forth a programme which would make the average Radical stand aghast. Here are some of the items in it: Universal suffrage, payment of election expenses, payment of members, Triennial Parliaments, abolition of the House of Lords, free secular education with a free meal to scholars daily, a graduated income tax, nationalisation of the land, Sunday opening of museums, abolition of mineral royalties, disestablishment, and direct vote of the liquor traffic.He is strongly opposed to our present election system which he considers degrading to the candidate and demoralising to the electors. He would abolish all canvassing, and make it absolutely prohibitory for the candidate to subscribe to anything in the constituency."

Among the more important points of his general programme not included in this summary were the following: Self-government for the four nations in Britain, with an Imperial Parliament as the overall authority; nationalisation of the means of production; the exercise by Municipal and County Councils of powers to relieve want - such as the purchase and redistribution of land at fair valuation; simplification of the existing land laws; the freeing for peoples' use of commons and traditional mountain grazing; a stop to the granting of perpetual pensions; public works to relieve unemployment; Free Trade; no further annexation abroad; the right of alien races to live in their own way. Three planks in his platform will require more specific attention. Chief of these is his advocacy of the Eight Hours Day. The others are the question of payment of M.Ps. and need for worker M.Ps.

The Liberal Radicals were the traditional enemies of the remnants in society of feudalism. Their enmity was directed against squires and parsons and the House of Lords. They wished to abolish the/

the monarchy, disestablish the Church of England, stop all indirect taxation and take education out of the hands of ecclesiastical bodies. In different degrees, individually, they adopted a few of the measures detailed above. But it is clear that the average Radical would "stand aghast" at Cunningham Graham's Parliamentary aims.

When the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party was formed in 1888 he became its first Chairman. The neglect of his contribution to Socialism is partly due to the fact that it was taken he was a suitable figure-head, whose better-known name and social rank would be useful in high office. But when we compare the programme of the Parliamentary Labour Party with his, we find that they coincide very closely. The items not found in his programme are: a Second Ballot; a State Insurance for sickness, accident and old age or death; arbitration courts; a minimum and weekly wage; no war without the consent of the House of Commons. With these I believe Cunningham Graham was in agreement - his Chairmanship is probably a sufficient indication of this, and he must have had a hand in shaping the programme. Among the newspaper cuttings in one of the Scrap Books are two programmes setting forth the Liberal-Labour policy as it was understood at this time. (One is a speech by a certain Daniel Irving on Labour representation.) The elements which both miss out are the definitely socialist elements contained in the aims of the Parliamentary Labour Party and its Chairman. I think it is just to/

to assert that Cunninghame Graham was breaking new ground in the socialistic characteristics of his own programme, which was first given articulation three years before the Parliamentary Labour Party was formed.

Not only so, but like his ancestor "Doughty Deeds" Graham, he meant every word he said. "Doughty Deeds" had promised to resign in three years if he did not succeed in obtaining triennial Parliaments - and he resigned. Cunninghame Graham knew no diplomatic hiatus between electoral promises and Parliamentary activity. He came into the House of Commons like a breath of God, a plumb line in his hand, his mind set on seeing everything put straight quickly. This explains his bruising of the House, and his bruising at the hands of the House, the anger with which he viewed most M.Ps., and with which they viewed him. He was in earnest about every solitary point in his programme.

Agitation for the Eight Hour Day and for the appointment of Worker M.Ps., with its concomitant, the payment of M.Ps. was peculiarly Cunninghame Graham's province.

The Eight Hour Day.

When the London Trades Council suggested that there should be a ban on politicians at a demonstration in favour of the Eight Hours Day, "The People's Press" commented: "Fancy an Eight Hours Demonstration at which Mr. Cunninghame Graham was not allowed to speak¹." In/

1. "The People's Press", April 26th., 1890.

In the minds of those who were implicated in the working class movement, Eight Hours Day and Cunninghame Graham were inseparably linked. Others might look into the pram and pat this baby's head and speak soothing words; he nursed it, refused to abandon it, defended it, promoted its interests, presided over its growth.

The demand for this shorter working day had first been made by Robert Owen in a letter published in the "Star" of August 12th., 1817. The Chartist radicals and reformers regarded him as the father of the movement associated with it. The impetus for it died away with John Fielden, M.P., and it was not till the late 70s and early 80s of the century that it began to gain the attention of the leaders of the new social criticism.

In a letter to the "Iron and Coal Trades Review", Cunninghame Graham sets before the miners the advantages he sees in pressing for the shorter day. These are: (1) the absorbing of many of the unemployed, (2) the offering of new opportunities through leisure for intellectual improvement, (3) the availability of time for organising combination and pressing for their share of the wealth they produced.¹ The whole position is, however, better summarised by an argument with Mr. Ritchie in the House, where Cunninghame Graham replies to charges made against the proposal, and Mr. Ritchie, in answer, propounds the Government's attitude. After tracing the degradation of the lower classes to overwork "more fit for mill horses than men," the former again stresses the need of the working classes for/

1. The letter is found in a Scrap Book and is undated.

for time for culture and for combination to assert their rights, and goes on to deal with objections, as follows:

1. The proposal would sap men's self-reliance. What?, he says - at 13 hours daily for 3/- to 4/- per week?
2. There was no such demand on the part of the working classes. There ought to be, he replies. Only 10% of the workers were in trade unions. It was virtually impossible to return a working-class M.P. Public opinion needed to be formed which would encourage this demand.
3. It would be detrimental to foreign trade. He thinks this difficulty not insuperable.
4. Wages would fall on the reduction of hours. Rather, as he replies, fresher men would turn out better work; and where shorter hours were in existence in Germany, France, Britain and America, wages had risen.

In reply, Mr. Ritchie, declared what he considered would be the effect of state regulation of labour of this kind:

".... it would substitute State effort for individual effort; it would deprive the individual of the stimulus which he now possessed to better his position: it would bring the good workman down to the level of the bad workman, the thrifty to the level of the thriftless, the industrious to the level of the drunken. Working men had shown through their trade unions that they could very well take care of themselves, and they preferred to manage their own affairs and regulate their own hours of labour."1.

"The/

1. March 7th., 1889. Hansard.

"The People's Press" publishes arguments of Lord Selbourne and Mr. Courtney, M.P., which are based on the antagonism of the Eight Hour Day to the natural law of supply and demand, and which point out that employment must be diminished by taking away a free market.^{1.} Taken together with Mr. Ritchie's arguments, these sufficiently represent the terms on which the proposal was blocked and rejected.

It should be noted that conservatives at this time applauded the old unions' powers to negotiate wages and conditions. Their popular cry "men prefer to take care of themselves through their unions" was aimed against the aspirations of the unskilled and semi-skilled to become organised, and against legislation in support of negotiation.

Cunninghame Graham saw the Eight Hours Day as affording the protection and opportunity which would foster working-class responsibility. He believed the measure was necessary to make possible the development of trade unionism; that instead of leaving men to fight to raise wages under existing conditions, it would do much to alter the economic conditions themselves.^{2.}

He maintained that it was competition for scarce jobs which lowered wages - gas workers' wages had increased as their hours were reduced.^{3.} In an article on "The Legal Eight Hours and the Unskilled" he shows how this competition for work arises and how it can be dealt with:

"Why/

1. November 15th., 1890.

2. Letter on the Eight Hour Day to the "People's Press", Dec. 13th., 1890. Cf. his insistence that he was not out to weaken trade unionism but to supplement it; Sept. 3rd., 1887. Hansard.

3. Letter to "The People's Press", Dec. 13th., 1890.

"Why does industry fluctuate? Mainly because employers engage to finish contracts by a certain time, relying on the fact of their being plenty of men always prepared to work overtime.
.....remove the fierce competition of the unskilled with one another, give work to all by shorter hours..."¹.

How would the proposal affect foreign trade? He gives a more specific answer in an article on "Patriotism" in "The People's Press" than that given earlier in the House. He writes:

"Behind this foreign competition, then, we find the sweater firm entrenched:

Patriotism is the fake he traffics in. Damage to British industry if British slaves work shorter hours.

It does not signify.... a traditional brass boddle.....to the worker if trade goes or remains.

His christian wage being determined not by the amount of the product, but by competition with his fellows, it follows that it reaches just subsistence point.

..... Suppose the trade did leave the country, the workhouse still remains.....just as well eat in the workhouse at the national expense and do no work at all".².

The business of getting a measure through the House proved heartbreaking. On June 22nd., 1887, Cunninghame Graham asked for the introduction of an Eight Hours Bill for Scotland alone in the meantime.³ On September 3rd. of the same year a clause moved by him to limit miners' work underground to eight hours, was defeated.⁴ Undeterred he told the House that he has spoken recently at 63 or 64 meetings in every mining district in Scotland and all had unanimously carried an Eight Hours resolution.⁵ On April 6th., 1889/

1. "People's Press", Dec. 27th., 1890.

2. "People's Press," Sept. 27th., 1890.

3. Hansard.⁴ Hansard.

5. During his Parliamentary career, he spent himself continuously in such widespread agitation.

1889, a newspaper cutting¹. gives the following information and comment:

"Mr. Cunninghame Graham last night rose in the House of Commons to call attention "to the long hours worked in many trades, and to the desirability of limiting the hours of labour to eight in all Government workshops, and of inserting an eight hours clause in all future Government contracts". Before the champion of the Eight Hours' Movement had spoken a dozen words, the House was counted out, there not being forty members presentWhere were all the rank of Separatist promisers, who had advocated an Eight Hours' programme with so much energy when there were votes to be influenced in election times?"

Another newspaper cutting¹. which must, I think, be dated 1890, draws the readers' attention to the fact that in three years Cunninghamham Graham had not even succeeded in getting serious discussion in the House of the Eight Hours question. The withdrawal of the proposal as a bill and its reintroduction as a motion had proved unsuccessful. An attempt to get a place on the agenda by ballot had proved abortive. All the forms of the House had been exhausted. On November 29th., 1890 we read in "The People's Press":

"At the request of the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee, Cunninghame Graham introduced the Eight Hours Bill (for all trades) on Wednesday. Messrs. Fenwick, Pickard and Cremar had previously refused to take charge of it."

Probably the loneliness of his effort and its ill success told in the end even on him. He may have believed simply that Parliament's ear would be forever deaf as long as things stood as they were, and redirected his energy towards other forms of pressure. At/

1. Insertions in a Scrap Book.

At any rate his protagonism of the Eight Hours Day is not so insistent from 1891 on.

But the movement was gaining strength. The International Labour Conference in Paris, and the International Congress of Miners in 1889 had declared in favour. In October 1890 the T.U.C. adopted the Eight Hours Legal Day as part of its policy. There was a dawning national and international conviction about its benefits. I think there can be no doubt about the significance of Cunningham Graham's part both in the British and in the World movement, or about the fact that he was at times the sole champion of this measure in Britain's Legislative Assembly.

The importance of the Eight Hours proposition to him is witnessed not only in general by his pertinacity, but in particular by his counting the claim for Scottish and Irish Home Rule quite secondary in relation to it.¹ The Eight Hours issue was "a bigger job", affecting the condition of workmen in all countries. It merited priority. So he, known to many mainly as a Scottish Nationalist, avers that Home Rule has been a millstone round the necks of the progressive elements - it has proved a diversion from the claim of the emancipation of all humanity, which came first.

His views on the payment of M.Ps. and the necessity of Worker M.Ps. need not occupy so much attention; but he was a consistent advocate of these policies.

Payment/

1. Articles on "Midlothianism" in "The People's Press", Nov. 14th., 1890 and on "Home Rule" on December 20th., 1890.

Payment of M.Ps.

In a letter to the Press in 1887¹. he advocated for M.Ps. a salary of £300 and a free pass to the constituency - acceptance to be compulsory; the payment of election expenses from the rates; freedom from obligation to subscribe to charities in the constituency, unless the member had been subscribing to these in any case before the election. Again in a letter to the Press sent on November 13th., 1888, from the House, he gives reasons for his commendation of the proposal. These are:

1. Payment of members is coeval with the establishment of Parliament and almost universal among nations with Parliamentary institutions.
2. It is economical - who would think it a saving to go to an amateur lawyer or dentist?
3. It is business-like, encouraging people to make of politics a career and give it full attention.
4. It is practical - it makes the M.P. clearly a delegate of the constituency.
5. It is less expensive than pensions, places and contracts.
6. The well-fed present Members cannot represent the oppressed.

It is clear that his great objective was to make Membership of the House open to any person irrespective of his means.

He similarly advocated payment of Municipal Councillors. It was impossible, he declared, to secure really popular representation unless a small salary were provided to meet the attendance expenses/

1. Preserved in a newspaper cutting, inserted in a Scrap Book.

expenses of working men. Even when the proposition that a day's salary with travelling expenses should be provided was reduced to the motion that reasonable travelling expenses only should be met, it was defeated in the House.¹

Cunninghame Graham, being himself of independent means, was the best person to make this plea. Before we leave the subject, we may note how he regarded the customary subscriptions to charity expected of an M.P. As a man who could afford to give these "bribes", he risked unpopularity by taking up the case of the poorer men to whom this custom proved one other barrier against Membership of the House. In a letter to the Press, he spoke of an attempt to extort a contribution from him towards the expenses of a Charity Concert and Ball, for the building fund of a Home for the Aged and Infirm Poor at Garngadhill. This was his comment:

"I look upon the whole system of blackmailing members of Parliament as a most pernicious one; as it is not only a tacit infringement of the Corrupt Practices Act, should a subscription be given, but is the greatest bar to poor men entering Parliament."²

Worker M.P.S.

Speaking on the Eight Hours question, Cunninghame Graham wrote to miners about workers in general:

".....no man like myself, however much he may sympathise, can ever properly represent them; and I cannot help thinking that if we but had ten or twelve labour representatives from Scotland that it have been impossible to burke so important a question...."²

It is not even the better-class workmen he wants to see in Parliament. He writes to the Dundee Radical Association, concerning an English barrister who was making a poor job of representing Dundee: ".....elect men of your own class/

1. July 15th., 1889. Hansard.

2. Cuttings preserved in Scrap Book, all about 1887 or 8.

class to Parliament, if you wish the institution to be a live one and not become a fossil,"¹ and elsewhere he declares...."....he wanted to see Labour Members who would put down their baskets of tools in the cloakroom, and take their seats with grimy faces."¹ In a statement made on March 14th., 1888 he urges Liberals to choose a labour man for the coming contest in Mid-Lanarkshire, indicating at the same time that he did not anticipate such action to provide a political cure-all:

"It is not claimed that of necessity a working man is a better representative than another, but if it is true that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, a little leaven of labour representation might, in my opinion, be successfully introduced to leaven the mass of the House of Commons".¹

"Who but the poor," he writes, "can speak for the poor?"²

Later he gave a picture of the House of Commons as he believed it ought to be:

"The population of these islands is in the main composed of working people. All the other interests, land, money, law, art, science, clergy and public-house keepers are but nothing to them. Therefore if Representative government has any meaning, there should be about 660 Labour members and a sort of Rump of representatives of the other great interests I have mentioned".³

This, I think, sufficiently indicates his point of view concerning working-class M.Ps. The representatives, when they became more numerous, were to disappoint him, just as those he worked with fell down on main issues. In a letter to Wilfred Scawen Blunt, after the formation of the Labour Party proper, he says of such:

"When they get into Parliament they are at once bitten with the absurd idea that they are no longer working men but statesmen, and they try to behave as such...."⁴

This/

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1. Cuttings preserved in a Scrap Book, all about 1887 or 8.
 2. Introduction to "A Labour Programme" by J.L. Mahon.
 3. Article entitled "Nations" in the "People's Press", Nov. 15th., 1890.
 4. Letter dated March 12th., 1908.

This did not mean that as a class they disappointed him. He had never had starry-eyed notions about them. He believed the same selfishness was in their makeup as in that of the capitalists. He roundly rated them for their own share of responsibility for their state. But he did hope they would remain straight-forward working men with all their faults, When they came to the House, and leaven with realism its policy. He believed them to be the same flesh, the same bones as the dilettante "triflers at Westminster". They could not be worse than those they replaced. But he did hope that the event would prove them much better than they turned out to be.

He was not to be disappointed.

Political Allegiance.

It would be possible for a politician, who was active at the time of Cunninghame Graham's membership of the House, to state a programme which was an amalgam of Liberalism and Socialism, and be one of several things - a Liberal; a Socialist; a Marxist; or an Individualist who took this and that from one group or the other, and remained aloof in commitment. It was a time of flux, when the Labour Party was struggling to birth within the womb of Liberalism. Party allegiance could often be obscure and shifting. Where did Cunninghame Graham stand? Mr. Thomas Kerr¹ has testified that he was not an easy man to work with, that he could make things as uncomfortable for supporters as for apponents. C.M. Grieve's judgment was that Socialism could not handle his abounding realism and imagination and kept its Jack Joneses for preference.² A.F. Tschiffely in his recent posthumous biography concludes of/

1. Ex-Lord Provost of Glasgow.

2. In "Contemporary Scottish Studies" - First series.

of him, after his incursion into Parliamentary politics: "His enthusiasm for the Socialist Party began gradually to wane, but not his vehemence for its ideals and for the social reforms which he strove to bring about."¹.

Did Cunninghame Graham call himself a Socialist? Did he really fit into a movement: did the wild stallion work in harness? What can we make of his Liberal candidature, not only early on, but in 1918 - and of his trenchant criticism of Socialism, early and late? Is the key to the riddle to be found in his courtliness, in that - as Professor Herbert West has suggested to me - he wore his Socialism as a knight his lady's scarf, an expression of his championship of the weak, flaunted in the face of the oppressors who belonged to his own class?

We must take serious account of the impression he left on people of being an irreconcilable individualist, whose meat and drink was challenge, like Jean Paul Sartre's Boris, who believed:

"...the individual's duty is to do what he wants to do, to think whatever he likes, to be accountable to no one but himself, to challenge every idea and person."².

W.H. Hudson may be taken to represent this interpretation of his political activity. In a letter dated 26th. January 1906, replying to a communication not now extant, he writes:

"I saw that you declined an invitation to come forward as a Labour candidate on this occasion, and I thought your reason was a good one - still I'm sorry that you're not in the House to represent yourself."³.

In the House, as a Labour choice, to represent himself - the apparent incongruity of party allegiance and his unique personality is expressed in the juxtaposition/

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1. "Tornado Cavalier", p. 98.
 2. "The Age of Reason", Jean Paul Sartre, p. 163.
 3. The candidature may well have been for Edinburgh Central, mentioned by Tschiffely in his most recent book. If this is so, the reason given was his occupation with PRIVATE AFFAIRS.

juxtaposition of these phrases.

It was as a convinced Liberal that Cunninghame Graham fought his first unsuccessful and his second successful contests. He saw in Liberal policy a hope for the oppressed throughout the world, and in Gladstone a brilliant guiding light. He was "that Homeric statesman, that magician of Midlothian....on whom all Liberal eyes are fixed as on their Pole Star", "the commanding genius", "the only statesman worthy of the name" and so forth. The Liberalism he found in the House did not measure up to the conception of it which he himself cherished, and his description of it and its leader suffered a sea-change. A newspaper cutting, dated April 26th. 1889, inserted in a Scrap Book, reports him in controversy with his caucus. The overt cause was the question of contributing to the expenses of the next election. But the reporter indicates that more lay underneath:

"He is not a likely man, however, to keep on good terms with the caucus. It requires rigorous compliance with party regulations and implicit obedience to Party Leaders. Mr. Graham has had the audacity to call in question the angelic attributes of Mr. Gladstone, the patriotism of Sir William Harcourt, and the consistency and disinterestedness of Mr. Morley. To do this is heresy....although his attendance to his duties is unexceptionable and his votes emphatically Radical...."

In 1892, it is still as a Liberal that he seeks re-election, and it is because the Liberals reject him that he stands as a Socialist (and loses his seat). His candidature in the Socialist cause is solicited on several occasions and refused. Then in 1918 he fights his last Parliamentary contest for Stirling and Clackmannan, without success, as a Liberal.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of his choice of the Liberal banner/

banner rather than the Socialist in National elections, let us probe the source of the disaffection which marked his relationship to the Liberal party. He suffered disillusionment about the integrity and imagination of the party leaders, and was forthright in his denunciation of their leadership. Did a profound divergence regarding policy underly this distrust?

From the time of his maiden speech in Parliament he appears to friend and foe alike to go beyond Liberalism. Scrap Book insertions provide the following comments on it:

"In politics he is a Radical of the Radicals, almost going so far as Socialism, with strong sympathies for the working classes..."
".....the robustness of his Radicalism throws into the shade most of the men who consider themselves advanced...."
"The whole tone of this remarkable speech was thoroughly Socialistic,....."

Newspaper cuttings, undated, but apposite to the time of his early Parliamentary utterances, describe him as aiming "...at creating and leading a Parliamentary Socialist Party;" and, tartly, say "he is a Socialist, but we have not heard that he has any thoughts of dividing his patrimony among his comrades of Trafalgar Square". He himself does not choose to declare himself openly at this stage. In connection with the Trafalgar Square incident, he writes to the editors of the "Christian Socialist":

"I am a believer in the theories of Karl Marx to a great extent, but, both as regards Christianity and Socialism, I care more for works than mere faith".¹

and at Clerkenwell Green to the unemployed: "He would not tell them whether he was a Socialist or a Radical, they must find that out."¹

In his utterances the characteristically Liberal elements of policy fall/

1. Autumn 1887.

fall into the background, and Socialist policies occupy the foreground. He advocates the Nationalisation of the means of production.^{1.} He becomes chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party.^{2.} Yet the report of a conference in Hamilton after Keir Hardie's defeat^{3.} which reveals clearly his conviction about the necessity of having a Labour Party, shows he understands the functions of this party as that of being a goad within Liberalism. The report goes on:

"He urged the workmen to organise and to fight every local, municipal and Parliamentary election until the power of the Labour^{4.} party was firmly established in Scotland.
.....the workmen must make up their minds to compel the Liberal party to deal with the social and economic evils afflicting the working class."^{5.}

The conference unanimously decided to form Labour electoral associations throughout Lanarkshire, and made Cunninghame Graham president of the executive body, and Bob Smillie of Larkhall, chairman. While still a candidate, he declared that the ultimate object of every Liberal "worthy of the name" was to ameliorate the lives of the poor, to adjust the incidence of taxation, and to redistribute wealth by reforming the social system.^{6.}

Some years later, he was to make clear the nature of his Liberalism by this reaction to a suggestion that Lord Rosebery might be made leader of the Liberal Party:

"The man was absolutely unpledged...they should know what he thought upon the land nationalisation, upon the nationalisation of the railways, upon the nationalisation of mines and machinery, upon the establishment of municipalities for London, upon the institution of public works for the unemployed."^{7.}

If/

1. The first reference I can trace is in a speech after his release from prison, in 1888, following the Trafalgar Square incident. The Parliamentary Labour Party did not go so far.
2. In the introduction to a Press interview in connection with the Mid-Lanark contest of 1888, he is described as being "a large part" of the Labour Party.
3. Unspecified, but almost certainly in the Mid-Lanark contest of 1888.
4. The query whether Labour can convert Liberalism, or must become a party on its own, is interestingly reproduced in the fluctuation between the capital and the small letter "L" in describing the group, at this stage.
5. Report preserved in a Scrap Book.
6. Cutting in a Scrap Book of a speech at "Tollcross".
7. Cutting kept in a Scrap Book: source unidentifiable.

If this is Liberalism "worthy of the name", what is Socialism?

His isolated position is made clear by the reminder he receives in Parliament that his views about land nationalisation are not favoured by any party in the House.¹ On March 7th., 1888, Mr. Ritchie, replying in the House to an exposition of the advantages of a shorter working day, declares that his suggestion would mean "a kind of State regulation of labour" and that this is "pure Socialism". Cunninghame Graham agrees, and maintains his argument from this standpoint. From this time he accepts the word "Socialist" as an apt personal designation, although he continues for some time to see the function of the Labour party as being within Liberalism, in the hope that that party will seek not just to ameliorate but to change "the system which is both doomed and damned",² "the base, vile, commercial system that sees God in gold".³

A further change takes place in 1889. In a letter to the "Daily Chronicle" dated February 12th. of that year, concerning John Morley's negative reaction to the arguments of a deputation of working men on the question of an eight hour day, Cunninghame Graham wonders:

"....what difference they can see between a Liberal and a Tory..." and concludes:

"I fancy that neither Whig nor Tory will ever grant an Eight Hours' Bill, and that it will be necessary for the working classes to create a new party..."

A newspaper article, preserved in a Scrap Book, which is undated but is likely to come from the same approximate time, blames Liberals and Tories alike for their utter neglect of Labour questions, and rails at working men for trusting Liberals/

1. Nov. 23rd., 1888. Hansard.

2. Re Labourers' Allotments Bill, August 11th., 1887. Hansard.

3. "The Bloody City": Article in "The People's Press", Aug. 16th., 1890.

Liberals any more than Tories. In similar style he chides the Irish National League for deciding to support a Liberal rather than a Labour candidate in any nomination dispute, urging upon them that only the labouring classes would be worthy of their trust.^{1.}

By 1890 his advocacy of a separate Labour Party is yet more explicit. Belief in party self-criticism has given way to a clear call for a new party. "Kick your friends" has become "Kick out the Liberals and Tories alike":

"Whom, therefore, shall we follow? Yourself, of course. Each party, in turn, professes to be the friend of the people. Well, kick your friends; it is what they like best. The more you beat them, the better they will be.

Kick both, kick out the rascally knaves; form a Labour Party. Reform really means collective possession of the means of production. He who will not give that is the enemy of the working classes, and doubly so if he calls himself Liberal."^{2.}

Writing of Gladstone's visit to Edinburgh, James Young writes in "The People's Press" about Cunningham Graham:

"If at the General Election the working class vote does not place Mr. Cunningham Graham at the head of a party able to compel immediate attention to their affairs, it will be hard to refrain from saying that they richly deserve to continue to wallow in the mire...."^{3.}

A leader in the same paper is entirely devoted to Cunningham Graham and gives this assessment of his position:

"....the best friend the workers have in the House of Commons... Though he is himself a member of the Capitalist - or rather the landowning classes - he has done more for the workers than most of the "Labour Members", one or two of whom have turned out downright Reactionaries under the capitalist influence of the House of Commons!.....

Since 1886 he has become a more and more pronounced advocate of the labour movement, as distinct from mere political Radicalism, and is now the only member of Parliament who can really be called a Socialist....."^{4.}

These/

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1. Cutting in Scrap Book from approximately this period.
 2. Letter to "The People's Press", May 31st., 1890.
 3. November 8th., 1890.
 4. Leader in "The People's Press", April 26th., 1890.

These words seem to me to describe best the graph of his rising Socialist conviction and definite Socialist commitment.

In the same year he twice rejects profit-sharing as an alternative to Socialism in the House, on the grounds that it divides up the workmen, and denies Labour..."the full share of that which Labour produces".¹ In an article written a few months later, he puts the choice before his readers in the terms in which he saw it:

"Briefly, the difference between Individualistic and Socialistic scheme of life is this. In one, hard work for millions, wealth for tens. For tens the love of art and pictures, fine clothes and well-bred horses. Dirt and rags and toil, no idea save gin and beer and fun, for millions. In the other, culture diffused throughout the population. Love of man placed before love of self. Plenty of work for all; no idle drones, no machine slaves. Choose which you like. Either follow Morley, Bradlaugh, Balfour, Lord Wemyss, etc., or join hands with the workmen of the world; demand short hours, better pay, and finally take over what is yours, the land and wealth, and manage it yourselves."²

In February 1892, he stated in the House:

"Only through class warfare ~~are~~ real reforms accomplished. I am not here for the purpose of moderating class warfare but rather for the sake of exciting it."³

Almost alone, often quite alone, he was "standing up for Socialism in this House";⁴ When Keir Hardie was elected to Parliament, he found a lonely path trodden out before him.

His personal allegiance, the allegiance of his programme, was to Socialism. At first a Liberal, then a Lib-Lab., he became the advocate of the new party to carry the banner of the workers. Did he work with others within the movement, or did he keep his jacket on? Did he make it his responsibility/

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1. February 13th., 1890, and April 22nd., 1890; Hansard: the quotation is from the latter.
 2. Article "Individual Effort II" in "The People's Press", Aug. 30th., 1890.
 3. February 18th., 1892. Hansard.
 4. His words. May 4th., 1892. Hansard.

responsibility to see that the course he advocated was followed, that the plans made worked: or did he assume, as an aristocrat, that generalship would be enough?

He was, it must be said, unequally yoked in the movement with workmen. He treated them with a courtesy and humility which betokened the status which he believed them to have: but somehow he was not one of them - he remained an aristocrat in their company. So he appeared to fight for them rather than with them. Yet he was found continually among them, agitating the length and breadth of the country, seeking to shame them into responsibility and action, and forever at their side in encouragement. He did not avoid the organisational means of implementing his convictions. We have noted his chairmanship of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and his work in connection with labour-electoral associations in Lanarkshire. He saw clearly that a new party could not be talked into being - it had to be brought into being. His whole temper was against advancing theories and leaving action to others. He "was a large part" of the Labour party, as has been said. He kept continually before people the need for new organisation and used his gifts to bring the requisite organisations into being and to help it to function, successfully.

The question of the use of the label "Liberal" at election times is perplexing. What light may be thrown upon it will not take long to detail. His criticism of Liberalism while he represented it in the House, was devastating. His rejection by Liberals was explicit. He promoted the separation of Labour from the Liberal Party. Yet, as we have noted, in 1892 it was as a Liberal that he sought re-election, and again in 1918 he flew the Liberal flag.

The/

The explanation I would offer is this. Cunninghame Graham believed that it was his duty to help to birth a party more genuinely representative of working class interests. He could plead for the birth of such a party, watch over its growth, encourage and criticise it. But it had to be a child by adoption. By his blood, Cunninghame Graham could be a Liberal, a Tory, or a Socialist, but not a Labour representative. He insisted on this inability, as we have seen.¹ He saw the danger of the upper classes simply taking over the leadership of a new party on behalf of working people, instead of the work^{ing} people themselves forming a party. He accepted "Liberal" as an official designation, as the only class and party possibility open to him; and at the same time advocated labour policies for all those who were the inheritors by birth and status of the movement. He could work in their movement to this end. But their M.Ps. would need to come from their own ranks, if they were to be truly represented in Parliament.

This is a judgment made on his life rather than on particular expressions of conviction on his part. But it does seem to fit in with words uttered in 1888:

"Having been returned as a Liberal, I personally would take no money except from a Liberal source, but then I am not a working man and have means to express my opinions."²

Did he, later in life, grow tired of the political cause he espoused or for some other reason lose interest in it? This is not simply a question of his withdrawal from national politics, his immersion in travel, writing and personal/

1. In the terms of his advocacy of Worker M.Ps.

2. Written about money received by Keir Hardie in Mid-Lanark. Cutting in a Scrap Book; dated June 20th., 1888.

personal affairs¹; of a further reorientation of his life akin to that which earlier landed him in the political arena. This there was. But, besides, there exists a considerable criticism of Socialism and the Labour Party which suggests repentance of his earlier affiliation, and which requires attention.

These two questions, thirty-six years apart, seem to express something approaching total disillusionment:

"It may be that my diagnosis of the disease is wrong and I am free to admit that the longer a man lives, the less he knows. Still, I diagnose the Labour or Socialist movement in England and Scotland to be very near a collapse. The same vices, foibles and failings, which it has taken the Whigs and Tories many generations to become perfect in, the Labourists and Socialists have brought to perfection, and with apparent ease in six years.

On all sides I see envy and uncharitableness, and I am choked with the stench of personal bickerings and petty malice.

There are amongst the poor....as many men of genius per ratio of population as amongst the bourgeois. But there are no men of business."²

This was written in 1894. In 1930, he says of the Labour Party that each member of it is busy trying to tread on the hands of others slowly mounting the ladder, and that its total achievements were increased income-tax, mixed bathing in the Serpentine, and sleep, while the unemployed grew, like Jonah's gourd, continually. He then looks back on his own part in the Labour movement:

"In times gone by, with old Keir Hardie and others I was one of those who fought for the establishment of a Labour Party. I was young in those days and had my illusions thick upon me. I hoped the coming of the Labour Party would be the coming of the millenium in England and Scotland. I was disappointed. They have simply become a party struggling for office like any of the other parties." ³.

These were both written at times of economic and industrial depression.

The/

1. E.g., the struggle to save Gartmore.

2. From a letter, preserved in a Scrap Book, declining candidature for one of the Aberdeen divisions in 1894. It is difficult to see whether he means by "men of business" "resolute men" or "men who can reduce chaos to order."

3. "Scotland's Day", June 21st., 1930; supplement to the "Scots Independent."

The second was also written under the influence of his new love, Scottish Nationalism. In it he is blatantly unfair to his past life, as is often the case with men who confess past follies. His earlier political life was marked by realism and restraint in his promotion of Labour interests. He knew well the kittle cattle that workers were, and expected no millenium. His disappointment is at the lack of integrity, vision and genuine sympathy found in all c^lasses, even among workmen, of whom he had hoped more. The judgment is not an isolated one. At the East Renfrew election, when he spoke in support of W. Oliver Brown, the Scottish Nationalist, his contribution is reported thus in a Scrap Book cutting:

"There was scorn in the distinguished, bearded face during a reference to the Government which was welcomed by everyone two years ago, and promising to make the world better. Now they were bankrupt of promises, of fulfilment, and bankrupt, if the last elections were any indication, of the goodwill of the electorate."

This looks much more like "Kick out..." than simply "Kick friends".

Certain observations need to be made to put this kind of criticism into perspective:

1. He believes that allegiance to a party implies the obligation to be a sterner critic of it than outsiders are. He is incredulous that "The People's Press" should be averse to criticising Labour. "What, not pitch into a party, or into a man who belongs to a particular party, because that is your party?" he says.¹ It is part of the privilege of membership. A good party member is one who works in the party and at the same time seeks to see that it pursues truth and right - not one who follows tamely at the beck and call of/

1. Letter to "The People's Press", May 31st., 1890.

of party whips, accepting a policy already concocted for him.¹ In a letter to Henry Arthur Jones,² Cunninghame Graham was to write, much later: "Tell me, O social reformer, why do you say, "feared to disturb your cherished principles". If my principles are wrong, surely they want to be disturbed?" Such a man was not likely to be any less trenchant in criticism of Socialism as a Socialist, than he was of Liberalism as a Liberal.

2. In the same letter he gives some inkling of what Socialism meant to him. First he mentions "Morris, at whose feet I brought myself up, politically", indicating this stream of Socialist conviction as the one which bore him along. Then:

"I had hoped in Socialism to find a gradual demise of selfishness and the gradual establishment of a better feeling between man and man. You may remember that then (28 years or more ago) the sweater was excessively aggressive, hours were long, and there was a brutal spirit of materialism about.... That I have been deceived, and that all the golden dreams of Morris have vanished in the nine bestial and inartistic years of the reign of King Edward, the War, and now in the increasing inartisticness of everything, the prostitution of the stage and literature, and now in the ever-increasing selfishness and lack of patriotism of the working class, have not been my fault. The ambition (I think) remains all right."

In a postscript he recounts days of misery and disenchantment which he has spent at sea, on horseback, in trucks, and proceeds:

"....I have thought - where are the dreams of Morris? But on arriving at the port or at the camp, they have come back, they always do. Let us, I say, cherish them...."

"....they have come back; they always do." They never lost their grip on him for all the fluctuation of alternating hope and despair he knew concerning the party which declared itself their inheritor and guardian.

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1. In an article entitled "Notions" in "The People's Press" he quotes approvingly Ibsen's saying that party government in this sense "twists the necks of all young living truths."
 2. Written on December 11th., 1919. Published in "The Life and Letters of Henry Arthur Jones".

3. In the "lost" political years, between the end of his Parliamentary career and his catching the public eye as a Scottish Nationalist, his political activity might have been nil as far as press publicity testifies. But conversation with men who served long in the Labour Movement has revealed to me a continuing implication of Cunninghame Graham in its policies. He was not a national figure. He was not nationally reported. But he was always available for speaking at large and small meetings, indoors and in the open air, and still spent himself commending to groups, often quite small in number, the noble brand of Socialism he professed. He remained a member of the Labour Party. Professor West, who first knew him towards the end of his life, found him a Socialist. The story of his Scottish Nationalism is a story of priorities. A report of his maiden speech in Parliament describes him as a "Scotch Home Rule Visionary". He saw Home Rule then, however, as a possible diversion from a larger job which would benefit all the nations of Britain. From 1928 on he reversed the order of priorities. It was of the greatest enlightenment to me to come across in a Scrap Book, the record of a meeting in which Cunninghame Graham was supporting John MacCormick's candidature for the Camlachie Division of Glasgow. In reply to a heckler, he said:

"He had been asked why he left the Labour Party. His reason was because he thought that for the moment Scottish Home Rule was more important. Were Scottish Home Rule once granted, and had he at least one foot out of the grave, he would certainly join the party again."

These are the words of one who, however much he might have found all parties wanting in the utter commitment to truth, justice and beauty, which was his measuring/

measuring rod, found in the party which had claimed his membership for forty years a greater hope than in any other - however much he might fling out at it at times in outraged condemnation. I am convinced that had he lived to see in action the Labour Government which took office in Britain in 1945, he would have discovered the realisation of much for which he fought, and suffered and yearned during his life.

Look at this Socialist and you will discern the aristocrat. Yes, - but look at this aristocrat and you must discern the Socialist.

Parliament and Politics.

To complete the picture of his social outlook, it is necessary to make some reference to Cunninghame Graham's attitude to politics. Did he take to politics as a duck to water, finding there the heaven-sent medium for expressing his ebullient indignations?

He never talks about politics - literally never in all that I have read and noted - except in disgust. The following are typical:

"Politics is but a sorry business at the best. The cesspool of the State¹. has to be attended to, as has every cesspool, or else a stench arises; the strange thing is that volunteers never seem to be wanting for the malodorous job."².

"....politics, that mumbo-jumboism no one can touch without leaving stains upon his soul...."³.

These late quotations represent exactly the attitude he took up in 1894, in declining an Aberdeen candidature, where he says he has been foolish to soil himself with pitch and politics - but never again!

Politicians/

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1. The phrase suggests that Cunninghame Graham held in the end, with Hobbes, that the most the State should be asked to proffer was protection from disorder and want.
 2. "Doughty Deeds", p. 148.
 3. "Jose Antonio Paex" p. 193; cf. introduction to "El Rodeo".

Politicians were "those who play upon the weaknesses and folly of mankind";¹ who, at death, resume that sleep which was but three parts broken during the whole course of their life.² Parliament was "....the Strangulated-Gothic Temple of Fraud at Westminster..."³ ".... the asylum for incapables..."⁴; ".... the House, packed then as now with mediocrities..."⁵. His sarcasm is specially evident when he mimics the proliferations of Mr. Provand who had delivered a lantern lecture on the House. A cutting in a Scrap Book preserves his comments;

"Behold therefore I (Provand) saw that it was good, that obstruction was good, that long speeches about nothing were good; that seventy or eighty questions mainly bearing on the affairs of obscure parishes in Ireland, were good; that all the obsolete forms and follies, the wigs of men who do not require them, the pensions in the pockets of those who do not need them, were good.

.....If it is evidence of a high average of intellect to deal with personal abuse, references to forgotten speeches, never to discuss principles but always men, then all I can say is, the average is a high one indeed.

(he says)Nothing of the vanity and longwindedness of the rival four benchmen; nothing of the air of unreality that hangs over the whole place."

"How can he be so dark and yet so light?" There would be good grounds for believing that he, who was politically active for the greater part of his life, despaired of politics. Complete disenchantment about the capacity of individuals and parties to retain office and preserve their souls appears to be indicated in these late/

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1. Preface to catalogue of T. Blake Wingman's paintings, undated.
 2. "His People", p. 275.
 3. Article "After the Congress" in "The People's Press", Sept. 13th., 1890.
 4. Letter re Aberdeen candidature, 1894.
 5. "Doughty Deeds", p. 162.

late extracts from books:-

"Conservative and Labour parties, each so insistent that they can regenerate humanity if they receive long enough terms of office and sufficient salaries."1.

"Parties had fallen and been replaced by other parties who, till they had got their hands upon the national treasury, had been the foremost advocates of peace, humanity and justice for mankind. Then they had all turned patriots, except those who had found a better way to fill their pockets, by preaching hatred betwixt man and man."2.

Partly his despair is at unregenerate humanity:

"So does the Trade Unionist of modern times protest as a Unionist against all overtime, yet as a man he does as much of it as he thinks profitable. The Labour leader, after a tirade against Capitalism, gets into his motor car.....

Even a Communist invests his savings in a company if he is sure it will yield him at least five per cent; and so we ripe and rot."3.

Partly he seems at times to decry central government itself, and, like Marx, look forward to some more spontaneous localised organisation as the desirable goal. He speaks thus in his article on "Notions" in "The People's Press" of November 15th., 1890. It was an idea which he found attractive, but to which he never seems to have given direct and deliberate thought.

With all this it should be noted that on the testimony of others and on the testimony of Hansard (which shows him speaking on an average well over 100 times a year while in office) he was a most conscientious M.P. He had a very high record of attendance and of intervention. Business committed to his care was pursued by/

1. "Jose Antonio Paez" pp. 23,4.

2. "Redeemed", p. 17. His repeated charge against Communists is that they hate the rich rather than love the poor.

3. "Doughty Deeds", p. 46. See also "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 108.

by every means with rare pertinacity (the fight for the Eight Hours' Day testifies to this). Cases of individual injustice were brought before the House relentlessly in spite of continual rebuffs. He longed for the sun instead of London's damp and fog. But he buckled to and performed assiduously the duties with which he had been charged.

There appears to me to be but one conclusion to be drawn. "He was no politician"? He was a conscientious, lively, and extremely able politician. But he was not a "natural". He was irked and fretted all the time by the political medium through which his social concern had to be expressed. Only one thing drove him to touch "pitch and politics" - his concern for people who were the victims of disorder and injustice. Politics offered a lever for the re-adjustment of Britain's social structure and manner of life. His political activity was the necessary, unwilling baggage-slave of his social conviction.

AN ESTIMATION.

Two pictures come to my mind. The first is the only image of Cunninghame Graham which I possessed during my youth - a "Daily Record" cartoon of an impossible kilted lamp-post of a man riding a shaggy pony much too small for him. I wonder to how many people this impression remains a historical evaluation, the note of sheer eccentricity predominating. The other is of a figure entitled "The Cause of the People" on the cover of Keir Hardie's "Labour Leader". The Shield of Truth, upheld, has trapped the arrows of Privilege, Prejudice and Ignorance. This picture seems to me fairly adequately to represent Cunninghame Graham's social outlook and achievement.

I have been able to find no other detailed examination of Cunninghame Graham's social outlook. When reference is made to it, more impressionistically, as in the works of Tschiffely, West and Bloomfield, the estimations suffer from dearth of detailed knowledge of his formative social-political period¹; and the fact that a bridge is blown between this and later activity.

In a brief estimate of the importance of Cunninghame Graham's social outlook, I would give prominence to these features:

1. His uncompromising, outrageous love of truth as he saw it. The fact that so much of what he stood for has become part of our social structure points the moral that achievement may not, after all, be in the hands of judicious compromisers, but may be wrested/

1. Again I must acknowledge my immense debt to Admiral Sir Angus Cunninghame Graham for the material he provided, especially the Scrap Books.

wrested from the defeat of those who hold absolute allegiances.

2. The unusual quality of detachment-and-implication which W.H. Hudson noted. By means of it he was able to stand aside from the national, social and class prejudices which he inherited, and see the other side of the coin. He could give whole-hearted support to a movement and still see its faults. He could condemn virulently, and still do justice to redeeming features. Truth, for him, had to be lived and to be sought, at the same time.

3. His unerring recognition of idolatry. Society continually turned to false idols. If he could not worship, he could at least destroy false worship. He was in one way like a prophet-and-judge from the Old Testament, set on truth and substantial deliverance, iconoclastic; yet somehow without a God to proclaim. A favourite comparison made of him to Don Quixote tilting at windmills, is all awry in terms of the seriousness of his challenge to society as he found it.

4. The discrimination of his judgment and wisdom of his guidance concerning the use of new social instruments. His views on state intervention; on the development, extension and protection of Trade Unions; on the use of the strike weapon, on the need for a working-class party and the means of getting one - at a time when working-class aspiration might have been directed into unhealthy/

unhealthy channels.

5. His capacity as a Socialist in the tradition of Owen and Morris. The realism of his programme and down-to-earthness of his agitation and organisation; at the same time, his concern for beauty and for freedom. His part, with Keir Hardie, in weaving what became the typically British brand of Socialism.

6. His conservatism, his love of the past, the constitutionalism which channelled his revolutionary fire. Such men as he was, saved Socialism from cutting itself off from past traditions, good as well as bad, and from losing the graces of past societies which could make present ones more endurable.^{1.}

7. The status and dignity he afforded human beings. His rich conception of democracy, with its ultimate constituent - the quality of free personal relationships in society. His understanding of political activity as aimed at removing stumbling blocks from the path to this inheritance. His concern for the whole good of man's life. His love for deprived men.

8. His lively call to men to be up and doing, shaping society.

9. His personal being. The distinctive contribution he was to society. The embodying in his life and action of what he thought. His unqualified aristocracy - a reminder that radical social thinking and action have never been the prerogative of one class/

1. The value of this contribution is underlined by the destruction of quality and taste which marked a large part of the Victorian age, which derived from inability to assess the true place of tradition in a society. The Great Exhibition sums up both real achievement and this loss.

class in this country. His property-owning status - the unanswerable argument to support theories like that of nationalisation of the land, against property-owners.

RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK.

The Background.

Around 1895 there is a change in Cunningham Graham's life. He ceases to be a British political figure, and only more occasionally do we hear him expound his social outlook. His takes up writing more seriously - though as an amateur in the real sense, (like Burns: "I rhyme for fun") - and his religious or philosophical outlook emerges much more explicitly between the interstices in his written works. We turn now to examine this aspect of his thought.

Before he settled down (in so far as he settled down) as the heir of Gartmore, he had been in touch with many different traditions. He came into contact with the Roman Catholic faith in childhood visits to his Spanish grandmother. In South America he found Roman Catholicism again: uncovered the work of the Jesuits in the Paraguayan missions, taking some of the lichens from the stone which marked their burial place and re-assessing their worth,¹; and offered a re-evaluation of the faith and works of the Spanish conquistadors, as one who could look on these as a Spaniard would, and could put them in a fuller setting than Prescott. He married a Roman Catholic, though a somewhat unorthodox one. In South America, too, he became imbued with the pagan outlook of the gauchos - that almost animal attitude, which meant men took as they came, not only sun or frost, but life or death - killing and being/

1. In a "Vanished Arcadia" and in frequent reference elsewhere.

being killed unconcernedly. His travels in Morocco and the Middle East brought him into direct touch with Mohammedanism (he had met its indirect influence in the impact of the Moors on the Spanish way of life). In Scotland he attended, at times, the United Presbyterian church. In England he seems to have attended the Anglican communion, or at least occasionally. Besides coming in contact with main religious manifestations, he had also come in contact with many religious customs of different tribes and races during his travels and in his historical investigations, and had studied some of the forms of fanaticism.¹.

Just as Livingstone is said more readily to have understood the native point of view than the white, so Cunningham Graham had a readier appreciation of those religious responses which were often dismissed out of hand as "queer, foreign" than of those which were familiar. He had an intensity of sympathetic understanding which meant that he was to a limited extent the convert of every expression of religion which seemed to have something valid in it. Just as he understood the way of life of people of other races, as if he were one of themselves, so he could appreciate their faith or philosophy as if it were his own. I would say that he thus became the residuary legatee of many different traditions; and that it is in his personality, not in any logical expression of thought, that these elements are fused.

He came into contact with the working class movement when/

1. Especially in "A Brazilian Mystic". The fanaticism in this case was Gnostic in character.

when it was a mixture of (1) the explicit atheism and anti-clericalism which derived from Tom Paine; (2) a form of evangelical agnosticism, represented in Britain by such as T.H. Huxley - that is, evangelical in its intense protagonism of the truth as it was seen, and strongly imbued with a sense of moral integrity; and (3) a more positive protest, such as was made by the Christian Socialists and Keir Hardie; that true religion made an immediate demand in terms of social righteousness. At times he is strongly anti-clerical, though not atheistic. His outlook shows kinship with the attitude of the great late Victorian agnostics. His language is very often that of Christian protest.¹.

The general situation of the church in Britain at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century requires some consideration. The Victorian age was an enquiring age. In the second part of it there was considerable religious and philosophical speculation and discussion, carried on in an atmosphere of tolerance. People were disembarassing themselves of other-worldly assumptions. In Scotland, the churches were distracted by their divisions (the grim picture of religious intolerance in a village, given in the sketch "Selvagia", exaggerates, but yet gives genuine insight into the time). In England, and to a lesser extent in Scotland, the working classes, by and large, were outside the church. The church-going classes were the middle-classes. A proportion of these burst the wineskins of evangelical piety, the fermenting wine of/

1. This is almost always the note in working-class periodicals at this time: not "Here is Christianity in operation: be rid of it" but "This is Unchristian". The starving wretches of Cradley Heath called irreligious irresponsibles, marched to their meeting hall singing a hymn, their meeting was opened with prayer and closed with the words "We pray God to help us in our extremity". As far as I can find out, these things happened in complete disrelation from the churches.

of the gospel for them requiring a social amplitude. The Non-Conformist conscience drove some to ameliorative action against vice, drunkenness and poverty. But the emphasis of the church was more on personal devotion and faith in face of all the assaults of reason and the devil; and heaven was a place of compensation for those whose lot on earth was irremediably hard. It is not too harsh to describe this as a time when the master or the mistress of the house took prayers for the servants, and saw to it that their status and wages remained low. At any rate, power politics and commercial advantage had to meet no challenge from the churches in general, on behalf of those whose dignity as human beings suffered. The social concern of the world church, whose main impetus was given by the C.O.P.E.C. Conference of 1925, was a recovery of a context for the faith which Cunninghame Graham in his lifetime did not see acknowledged.

Cunninghame Graham's own final attitude to religion seems to be given, beyond question, in the death-bed scene, as Tschiffely records it. The doctor in attendance at his bedside was asked by him concerning his religious beliefs, and returned the non-committal comment: "I preserve the beliefs my mother taught me."

"Well I do not," Don Roberto replied, "for long ago I have even discarded these. Some people need religion like a wall to lean against, but I have never needed it."¹

We might say "That is that!". But that we would have to ask if this might not be his famous courtesy coming to the fore, after he had injudiciously/

1. "Don Roberto", p. 437.

injudiciously put the doctor in an awkward spot; but that he drew a clear distinction of his own between beliefs and faith; but that we would have to enquire whether religion had ever been presented to him as other than "a wall to lean against"; but that his character and utterances had the "infinite variety" of Shakespeare's Cleopatra, and we could not be certain that this was the definitive one!

Professor West comes down on the side of his being a "pagan materialist", who yet "loves with all his heart the simplicity of the teachings of Christ although he has no illusions concerning their practice by men."¹ Paul Bloomfield describes in him some form of covert faith, likening him to his own homecoming Spaniard:

"Half furtively he dipped his hand into the holy waterstoup and crossed himself muttering it was a superstitious act, yet glad to yield to it, for a true Christian ought to testify, even though God, for some mysterious purpose of His own has not vouchsafed him faith."²

He says it would only be the very careless reader who would take him for irreligious.³ Sir Angus Cunninghame Graham, his nephew and heir, believes he could be called a Christian.

1. p.235.

2. From the title sketch of the book "His People".

3. "The Essential R.B. Cunninghame Graham", Introduction, p.21.

I. CREATOR AND CREATION.

Man's Environment: the natural and animal world.

The Victorians and Edwardians had an inadequate sense of the rightful demand man's environment made upon him. The powers of nature were being harnessed, nature was being subdued to man's will, mastery was annihilating mystery. It is true that nature was also thought of as an accomplice in the progress which was to bring man to an unknown, highly desirable goal.¹ But always the thought of nature was man-centred - it was man's ends which mattered. There was not that regard for nature which is prompted by the recognition of a genuine power, mysterious, limiting, capable of surprise-in-depth, truculent, which makes her not man's property but in some sense his partner, whose co-operation has to be discreetly sought. Nature was often simply raw material for man's enterprise. Alternatively, she could provide a haven for those who were wearied by industrialism. In neither case was man's natural environment given a genuine status of its own.

Against this view, no voice of Christian protest was heard. This world was a vale of ~~we~~ars, a stage on which the human drama of life was played, an expendable wrapping for the jewel of life beyond the grave; or the world was a seducer from God, with her cheap wares of transient pleasures and satisfactions. Coleridge's judgment that "we had purchased a few brilliant inventions at the loss of all communion with life and the spirit of nature",² looks back down the centuries/

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1. It was Thomas Hardy's achievement that he revealed the falsity of reading purposiveness for good into the natural process.
 2. "Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians" p. 42

centuries. It was in mediævalism that a hiatus between man and nature was accepted fully within the Christian tradition in Europe, and fable and legend were substituted for the realities of natural and of human history. First the Renaissance and Reformation, then the dawn of modern science and its application to the Industrial Revolution meant a new attention increasingly given to man's environment. It was just at this point that the Victorian and Edwardian ages failed (and the reign of George V. interrupted by the Great World War, did nothing to remedy the defect). Whereas the churches might have promoted a new recognition that nature had a status of its own derived from God, and that it existed for God's ends, not primarily man's; and might have recovered something of the Biblical joy in creation, and the conception of man's reverent trusteeship: they concentrated on life after death, virtually denying creation a place in the work of redemption. Only now are we beginning to recover a sense of the need for man to co-operate with nature for larger ends.¹ Where nature is simply a store of raw materials, man's association with nature in work becomes of merely passing significance, and a large part of life is evacuated of meaning. The status of nature and of man are only now beginning to be seen,² as being indissolubly related. In Cunninghame Graham's time they were not so seen.

What has been said of the material world also refers largely/

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1. The shock of the advent of the atomic bomb strengthened this sense.
 2. And even so, men like Canon Raven and Canon Demant are often prophets crying in the wilderness.

largely to the animal creation. Domestic pets were treated fairly well. But many forms of animal and bird life were preserved just in time from the wholesale depredations of their hunters by the Trusts and Associations which in our day have educated man to a new appreciation and responsibility.

Cunninghame Graham's estimation of the importance of the natural world seems to me to be not at all derived from philosophical argument (he never alludes to any) but from the direct eye of a humble person. He views the trees, the grass, the skies and plains with respect. The burning of jungle, to produce wood-ash, is not recognised by him to be a normal, natural proceeding.

"It made one wish to rend one's clothes, to think of the destruction of so much beauty in such a wanton way. Labour is scarce, and nature more exuberant than can be imagined in the north, and it may be the ashes fertilise the soil but I was glad at least that we had the ashes on our heads; it seemed that someone mourned."¹

The closing words are not sentimental. They represent genuine grief at loss. Once only does he seem nearer affectation:

"....roses trailed from every balcony, uncared for, and rejoiced to find themselves unmanured, unpruned, not tied to sticks, nor crucified with nails against a wall."²

He preferred the wild-growing, untamed Arab garden to the English. The rabbits made their burrows in the lawn at Gartmore, and played about unchallenged. His was a reaction, though in this case sentimentally expressed, against nature's being treated merely as man's/

1. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 234.

2. "Writ on Sand", p. 100.

man's servant, designed to conform to the pattern of his eye and purpose.

Nature to him is sheer miracle. He recognises and rejoices in the mystery. One of the joys of reading him is "...his instinctive amateur feeling that his subject is always far more vast, more important, richer and more mysterious than anything he can write about it."¹. So it is when he speaks of the natural world. I give one quotation illustrating his awed sense of wonder which is typical:

"The recurring and continual miracle of the flower and the leaf, the tides, day, night, and the mysterious rising of the stars, all which we know are really simple things, and follow natural laws and at the same time pass² our comprehension to declare, still less to demonstrate."

It is with a mixture of contempt and despair over man's that he views the demi-monde society where "riches and vulgarity kissed each other":

"It seemed as one looked round, that the green fields, the sky, the trees, the songs of the birds, the joy of horses, the dawn, the tides, the rhythmical and murmurous motion of the spheres, night, day, the twilight, and all the rest of the mere natural miracles, which nobody can imitate, so few appreciate, and none of us can alter, stay, quicken or retard, were but mere common things which the assembled company either had never seen or comprehended, or if they had, imagined they could buy, or set on some inventive, but impractical poor man to counterfeit."³.

This is condemnation, succinct. All is in man's power, all at man's whim, it is thought: whereas the real joyous world lies beyond his blind ken and weak understanding.

He/

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1. From a review of his book "Horses of the Conquest" published in the Christian Science Monitor, Boston, December 1930.
 2. Preface to "John Lavery and His Work" by Walter Shaw Sparrow. Cf. "His People" p. 201, and "Redeemed" pp. 64 and 69, written in similar vein.
 3. "Hope" p. 232.

He realises the loss because he is aware of a relationship which he conceives should exist between the human and natural creation. From time to time he catches:

".... a scent of something older than mankind, keen, subtle, vivifying, and which somehow connected man, by some unseen, uncomprehended essential oil or particle so small, no microscope could make it manifest, with the whole universe."¹.

Nature to him has a being capable of supporting one side of this relationship. He is not striving for effect when he writes: "...the powerful vegetation of the tropics writhes round their walls.... and seems to press the life-blood out of them....;"² or when he speaks of "... a world that puts out all its strength in heat and rain, in floods, in pestilence, in monstrous and invading vegetation;"³ or when he takes note, at home, of nature engaged in a stern fight for life "against the calamity of frost."⁴ He underlines further this existence of nature in her own right, when he speaks of her capacity for resistance to man. He notices... "the air of mystery and of hostility to man that emanated from the recesses of the everglades...."⁵. He writes of the sea:

"The sea leaves marks upon its votaries that even time never entirely rubs out, perhaps because, being an element so hostile to mankind, the difficulty of accustoming oneself to all its moods alters a man for life."⁶.

Man's relation to nature is almost like that of marriage, where adaptation and mutual adjustment are required if life in any shape or form is to be possible. Cunningham Graham therefore prefers those lands where nature has to be fairly reckoned with, where:

"One feels that nature is an actual force, not castrated and brought to heel by man, as in the countries men call civilised."⁷.

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1. "Faith", p. 109.
 2. "Jose Antonio Paez", p. 146.
 3. "The Conquest of New Granada", p. 38.
 4. "Charity", p. 90.
 5. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 13.
 6. "A Hatchment", p. 132. He speaks of the influence of houses on their inhabitants similarly on p. 4.
 7. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 12.

In the absoluteness of dominion is the loss.

Testimony to Cunninghame Graham's regard for animals is found in the numerous cuttings of instances of love, grief, fidelity and self-sacrifice on the part of animals and birds, which are preserved in his Scrap Books. The capacity of birds and animals for self-forgetful care for their young and for their life companions, appears to have occupied his mind much; and from time to time he speaks of the unfavourable contrast presented by much of human life. His love of horses was notable. He was an exceptional horseman, a prince among horsemen. He was acquainted with horses of all kinds, and would often describe their traits lovingly and accurately. Hudson said of him about the loss of his favourite horse Pampa in 1911, that he grieved more than he would have at the loss of many a relative. Well did he understand the relationship of the Spanish conquistadors to their mounts: "....a companionship and pride at the same time, such as a man may feel for a younger brother who has accompanied him in some adventure."¹ He speaks of his own mount in this way:

"He is part of me, I live on him and with him: he forms the chiefest subject of my conversation, he is my best friend, more constant far than man, and far exceeding woman."²

Cunninghame Graham succeeded in getting pit ponies brought under the care of inspectors of mines, and showed constant alertness in the House to any means of alleviating their lot. The poor cab-horses of London, some of them exiles from the free pampas where his own wild nature had been nurtured, are written about feelingly. One such is memorably described, in his pilgrimage from/

1. "Horses of the Conquest", p. 2.

2. "Father Archangel of Scotland", p. 147.

from his life as a foal in Entre Rios, through his fear-ridden journey across the seas, to his death as a gaunt image of himself, a cart-horse in London streets. Man's uncaring is piquantly noted at the end: the traffic reluctantly parts to go round the dead wreck of horseflesh, and then hurries on as if fretted by any delay.¹ He writes again, castigating man for the false ends which he forces animals to serve:

"....a million horses, turned to machines, chained in their stables, and taken out, but to pound ceaselessly upon the cruel stones till it was time to be led back again and chained up for the night, toiled wretchedly, not comprehending that they were agents in the progress of the world."²

Animals are, by us, turned into "meat-producing engines deprived of individuality."³

The treatment of animals calls into question man's whole outlook upon life: "....doubtless every kind of bird was created but to teach men to shoot them on the wing."⁴ It calls into question the value of human life, in the instance of "....men of science who think mankind is worth the martyrdom of living dogs and cats."⁵ It brings into focus the church's attitude as he sees it - animals have no souls, and that is that: "...the torturing of cats is not the church's business."⁶ Indeed it calls into question the scope of redemption. War, for horses, is "....the hell from which no saviour ever came down from heaven to save them. Of course, they had no souls, as good men tell us."⁷ He pictures a tired donkey which "...lay waiting the coming of a Son of Man to it and to its kind who should ride into the Jerusalem of all/

1. The tale "Calvary" in "Thirteen Stories". 2. "Faith", p. 133.
3. "Success", p. 61. 4. "Jose Antonio Paez", p. 11.
5. "Thirteen Stories", p. 216. 6. "Faith", p. 47.
7. "Mirages", p. 162.

all animals".^{1.} He says "...theologians who have blessed men with hell, allow no paradise to beasts."^{2.}

No answer is given to the query he raises about the place of animals in the scheme of creation and redemption. As is often the case, he states a matter, from a different angle from that which is customary, and leaves it at that. But his love for the Arabic legend that animals once talked and were able to communicate fully with man, often referred to, indicates his conviction that man and animals are associates in the Creation, not strangers, nor completely contrasted in rights and status. He does not count men and beasts of equal value. He would have turned his favourite horse, Pampa, to his death rather than ridden over a child, however much the loss of Pampa might have grieved him.

But he asks:

"Is there at bottom some mysterious bond between all living things, which, but for our religion and conceit, should have all the animals and us one clan?"^{3.}

Just as he and Gabrielle feel that man has lost certain senses through neglect of them, which once put him into closer relationship with the natural and animal world, so he feels a loss of kinship, which "progress" produces. A Highland shepherd and his dog turn his mind to "the old communion of all living things, the lost connection between man and all the other animals, which modern life destroys,"^{4.} and he lays the destruction at the door of man's aspiration "not to equality but to command" lest he should "incur the burden of the sorrow of the winds, the trees, the beasts." It is thus that man becomes/

1. "Redeemed", p. 122.

2. "Faith", p.2.

2. "Thirteen Stories", p. 199.

4. "His People", p. 218. Cf "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 198.

becomes "an outcast from his kind."¹.

It appears that at no point did Cunninghame Graham find a Biblical interpretation of life which gave adequate significance to the natural and animal creation. Yet, in essentials, his outlook fits a Biblical view better than any other.

Man's part on the earth is to "have dominion over"² to "replenish and subdue"³ to "dress and keep"⁴ the earth. Yet he is not lord but trustee. When he acts as Lord and breaks his relationship with God, for Whom the earth was made, the whole natural order feels the effect.⁵ The world does not have equal status with man,⁶ who alone is made in the image of God, who is constituted man by the inbreathing of God's Spirit. But its status is not that accorded to it by man the trustee, but by God the Lord. The edelweiss, not even seen by man during its life, yet blooms to God and fulfils its being if it fulfils His purpose.⁷

The significance of man's naming of the animals, in the world as God intended it to be, deserves attention. I believe it underlines the conception of trusteeship indicated elsewhere. Man separates the species by naming them, and since he knows the names of each (according to ancient understanding) he has power over them. Yet though they are not made in the image of God, they came out of the ground, as man does, and have a kinship of creatureliness. The association depicted is one of authority and kinship, of the dependence of animals on man and the dependence of both on God.

Though/

1. "Ibid, p. 240.

2. Genesis, 1 26, 28.

3. Genesis, 1, 28.

4. Genesis, 2, 15.

5. Genesis 3, 17, 18.

6. In the Bible man's part is to command, not to seek equality with the animals: the source of Creation's sorrow is not in this aspiration.

7. Cunninghame Graham makes the point that it was for some good purpose of His own that God jewelled Florida with flowers, in "Hernando de Soto", p.50.

Though Cunninghame Graham does not argue that "animals have souls", he does find the denial of this belief associated with the degradation of their status. Actually the hope for the earth and for animals is not that they "have souls" or will be found to be made "in the image of God" but that, according to their own manner of creation, they will be fulfilled. About the manner of that fulfilment Christ speaks not at all, little as he spoke of the manner of man's.

But in the New Testament, the created order is not dealt with as an expendable backcloth for the drama of man. The whole creation groans and travails, waiting for the redemption,¹. It is by Christ and for Christ that all things were created - in Him is the fulfilment of all creation.². All things are to be subdued to Him and brought back to God.³. The final promise is of a new Heaven and a new Earth.⁴.

When Christ rode into ^{the} Jerusalem of man, he was also riding into the Jerusalem of all animals, and of the hills and trees.

1. Romans, 8, 20-23.
3. 1 Corinthians, 15, 28.

2. Colossians, 1, 16.
4. Revelation 21, 1.

MAN HIMSELF.

Man's standing in the Universe was afforded fresh scrutiny and tested by different perspectives in the Victorian age. This re-evaluation is still proceeding. Man has not found a fixed place in the Universe. Continually new dimensions of helplessness and hope for his life are opening up. During Cunningham Graham's long life, discussions on literature, science and art, on politics and economies, on home and foreign affairs, revolved on this question: What is man? not - What is man that Thou art mindful of him?, for the supernatural was being absorbed in the natural, but - What is man?

The logic of the Newtonian conception of the dominance of mathematical law throughout the Universe, of Darwin's theory of evolution and its popular interpretation, of scientific evidence for the mind's dependence on the body, was the devaluation of man's life. Few Victorians would face this logic. One who did was James Thomson:

"I find no hint throughout the Universe
Of good or ill, of blessing or of course
I find alone Necessity Supreme
With infinite Mystery, abyssmal, dark,
Unlighted ever by the faintest spark
For us, the flitting shadows of a dream"¹.

Probably Tennyson better represented the general reaction to the New Knowledge, which was still too near to be seen in proportion. His hope is that "somehow good will be the final goal of ill," "that nothing walks with aimless feet": yet this is hope, not certainty:

".....but what am I
An infant crying in the night
An infant crying for a light
And with no language but a cry."

"I/

1. Quoted in "Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians", p. 235.

"I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all
And faintly trust the larger hope."¹

Some of the godly were more outright and found in invective the best defence against new knowledge, the best buttress of faith.

It is one of the paradoxical features of the Victorian age that the new dimension of antiquity given to man's life and the new relationship perceived of that life to the rest of the created order, was accompanied by a great sense of human confidence. Sin was associated with the past and the backward, righteousness with the future and progressive. It was posited that the direction of man was the direction of nature and that this direction was self-justified by an unseen, desirable goal of existence. It was felt that war would be bound to disappear, that better communications in themselves would improve international relationships, that misery was temporary. The fact was that for the middle classes the concrete material success of the industrial revolution outweighed the loss of certainty induced by mathematical and biological science.

The real standing of men in the working classes probably suffered from both aspects of Victorianism. Their status in the world as men was in doubt in terms of philosophical science. Whatever remedies were available, would come through the operation of natural law: there was no call deliberately to raise their status. Ruskin's basic belief that the wealth of a country is well-fed, good men gained more acclaim than hearing ears.

The externalising of life in terms of processes of nature and history which were self-contained and self-justifying, represented in the philosophy of Karl/

1. In Memoriam, LIV and LV.

Karl Marx, is accompanied in that philosophy by a different feature which was to look forward to the 20th. century. Beneath the outward succession of events Marx saw the elements of class struggle in human society. The human consciousness itself at this time came in for scrutiny. Nietzsche and Freud distinguished irrational, usurping forces underneath its placid surface. Man became more of a mystery to himself, with depths unrealised to match his heights. At the turn of the century too, detachment began to give way. Life began to be considered more important than any academic description of it. Economic and natural processes began to be interpreted as means of ministering to man's life, to be manipulated for human ends. New elements of fear and of promise were brought into the 20th. century.

Cunninghame Graham stands both inside and outside this time. His estimation of men is a direct, personal one gained in encounter. Yet from the time of his early letters he reveals an active interest in human affairs, literature, and architecture; and always he is conscious of the direction in which human life is tending, reacting in terms of it. The climate of philosophical thought probably encouraged his agnosticism concerning human life and destiny; at the same time he denounced fiercely the rape of man's dignity in practice in an industrialised civilization, and kicked against the apathy which counted man's position a consequence of/

of nature. With all the reverence he showed in his approach to nature, he maintained that processes and "laws" were to be manipulated by man for good ends, never to dominate him, never to be entrusted with the automatic production of boon or bane. The heart of his agnosticism is his failure to square his insistence on man's status with any final significance which might be given him in terms of the Universe and ongoing history. The contribution of his thinking is the insistence in practice on the priority of life over theories, on persons over processes and on the real mystery of mankind's nature which defies categories - a bursting of old wineskins without the provision of alternative, more adequate ones.

Professor West believes he shares the belief with Conrad that man is a part of nature and that his life and death are natural phenomena. Certainly he faced with James Thomson the consequences of such a belief. Life is again and again described as a mirage, a shadow, an insubstantial appearance on which man has no hold.¹

"Life the mysterious, the mocking, the inscrutable, unseizable, the uncomprehended essence of nothing and of everything,"² he calls it.

Men's lives are:

"....after all passed in a circus, where they perform, even with less volition of their own than the trained animals and pass away as the smoke of a cigarette dissolves into the air."³

Yet/

1. See "Mirages", pp. 3, 5 - 7. 2. "Thirteen Stories", p. 117.
3. "Writ on Sand", p. 11.

Yet with this futility of life, there remains some obligation laid upon us to act as if it were meaningful.¹ Having witnessed the crude slaughter of Indians, he says:

".....I checked my horse and began moralising on all kinds of things; upon tenacity of purpose, the futility of life, and the inexorable fate which mocks mankind, making all effort useless, whilst still urging us to strive."²

The contradiction of this sense he often had of the meaninglessness of life was found in his own life of action: and he was aware of this tension all the time.

He found man a strange, bafflingly motivated creature, and never shared the confidence in his powers which the concrete gains of the industrial revolution engendered in others. He knew what was in man, and no man needed to tell him - it was not from books he learned. He knew him to be too various to classify. He flings out at:

".....those men who fudge a theory of mankind, thinking that everyone is forged upon their anvil, or run out of their mould, after the fashions of a tallowdip."³

Well he knows the mystery of man's contradictory nature:

"Who shall sound all the mysteries of the human heart, or put his finger on the motives that influence mankind? Humble in purple, swollen with pride in rags; puffed with good fortune or steadfast against all the whirligigs of fate; by turns a bar of iron or a weathercock - each man is, has been, and will ever be, a mystery to his fellow-slaves, chained to this moving sphere."⁴

When/

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1. He has the telling instance of a criminal setting a chair straight, on the way to the scaffold, in "Hope" p. 70.
 2. "Thirteen Stories", p. 143.
 3. Preface to "A Vanished Arcadia."
 4. "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 72. Cf. "Success", p. 72.

When he draws the character of the Oldenburg captain in "Thirteen Stories," he illustrates his comprehension of the strange bed-fellows roosting together in a man's character.¹ So it is with others; none are plain knave, plain fool or plain saint, but creatures to be delicately and sensitively understood and described, so that justice is done to their own unique many-sidedness.² He is at his best in giving judgment on the Spanish Conquistadors. He will not have them dismissed as mere treacherous filibusters, especially by those whose own country is even then engaged in filibustering expeditions abroad. He enters into an understanding of their courage in facing the unknown, their adventurousness, their endurance in trials, their strange mixture of simple faith and ruthlessness: and from this vantage point he views sympathetically the temptations put before them by the defencelessness of the Indians against their superior firepower, their gold, their women and lands. In the end he does return an unfavourable verdict, but not before we have come to see that the conquistadors are such men as we ourselves are, and if we had the imagination and daring to undertake such a wild adventure as they undertook, we would not have behaved any better. His judgment is enhanced by his understanding of the Spanish mind and an intimate knowledge of the documents in Spanish relating to that time.³

A subtlety of understanding of human nature marks many of his observations. The way men can make the appearance of a protest/

1. p. 98.

2. His favourite authors were those who did similar justice to the mystery of man: eg Shakespeare, Cervantes, Chaucer, de Maupassant.

3. This verdict, compact of many references throughout his books, may be examined in "Hernando de Soto", p. xi, Preface; "The Conquest of the River Plate", p. 195; and "Pedro de Valdivia", p. 7.

protest a substitute for the cost of protesting in truth;¹ men's preference to see others no better nor worse than themselves rather than be faced with their integrity²; the "little cheque, discreetly given, for imaginary services or future villainy;"³ the eternal business of face-saving;⁴ these he knows and describes so that they probe the quick of one's own behaviour.

His thought ranges from the venial cruelty of the gauchos to the culpable kindness of Dutch Smith or the pious lady who cared for the Rev. Arthur Bannerman's children. He knows man's power in rationalising, "that verbiage by means of which we put a fig-leaf over the realities of life."⁵ He gauged the part played by fear of others' opinions.⁶ The part avarice played on man's life was an open book to him.⁷ The bribability of human beings is made clear in the story of the colt taken from his homeland. The owner is angry at its treatment and would have refused to part with it,

".... but that the dollars kept him quiet, as they have rendered dumb priests, ministers of state, bishops and merchants, princes and peasants and have closed the mouths of three parts of mankind, making them silent complices in all the villainies they see..."⁸

Yet there remains a strange nobility in man, inexplicable, purposeless if life is purposeless. He catches the phenomenon with the pen of an artist in "Mirages". A theatre goes on fire. People trample one another to death to get clear. On the stage three members/

1. "Progress" p. 277.

2. re Hidalgo, "Charity" p. 34.

3. "Redeemed" p. 11.

4. "Faith" pp. 181, 2, and the story "Postponed" in "Success".

5. Ibid, p. viii, Preface. Cf. the behaviour of Mercado in

"Progress" p. 20.

6. As in "His People", p. 45, re "the upright" keeping clear of prostitutes; and the weather eye of the General in "Progress" p. 50.

7. See "His People", p. 146; "Doughty Deeds" p. 47; "Pedro de Valdivia" p. 122.

8. "Thirteen Stories" p. 195.

members of the orchestra, "ridiculous, heroic Berserkers," play on seeking to allay fear, till the flames envelop them. No one listens, no one is saved by their efforts, but their "fury of self-abnegation, unreasoning, sublime and foolish" stands out as a query on the other side about this strange mystery that is man. He observes the strange points where honour grips in a prostitute and in one who would prostitute.¹ The trait of nobility is noted in simple, normal things, quite separate from any fanaticism, as in Miguel's dash to the train in Castile to obtain a lump of ice to ease his father's passing.² When man is treated as if nobility were not also indigenous to his being, the whole story of creation is made tawdry. Cunninghame Graham feels on his pulses the affront when man is treated as if he were but vile:

"God took mud out of the street and made his Englishman, the cheapest sort of man that could be done for money.

One would have thought, had one not been aware of the steadfastness of the Creator in union principles, that He had hired unskilled or blackleg labour for the job.....No man cared for him whether he lived or died, got fat or starved."³

The overturning of the order of creation represented thus, is illustrated in a cutting aside: "(prize fox terrier worth £100, chain value 1/6d. and girl's work value 3d.)"⁴.

The redemption of man's nature as a genuine possibility, or indeed as a desirable one does not come within his horizon.

For/

1. ~~It~~="Hope" p. 166, and "Thirteen Stories", p. 233.

2. The story "At Sanchidrian" in "A Hatchment".

3. "Latitudinal Influence", article in "The People's Press", October 4th., 1890.

4. Article entitled "Utopia" in "The People's Press", Oct. 11th., 1890.

For all the evil of human life, for all the irremediable ill in man's heart,^{1.} (for he did not believe that progress would act as a cleansing agent), he prefers him to be left just as he is. It is as if he feels the colour and interest would be drawn from life if Man's nature were redeemed.^{2.} So we find he talks of saints as if they were a natural growth, inexplicable as the vilest sinners, to be thankfully accepted as we accept the sun as well as the rain, but not to be laden with a redemptive hope for others.^{3.} They are not saviours but fairies:

"Those born in the ordinary, but miraculous fashion of mankind, who live apparently by bread alone, and yet remain beings apart, not touched by praise, ambition or any of the things that move their fellows, are the true fairies after all."^{4.}

I think he would count Christ a fairy. Though he calls Him "Saviour" and "Lord", I think he speaks in terms of perfect example, not of redemptive power. Life is not meant to be changed but to be lived just as it presents itself to one, lived to the full amid the shadows and sunshine which belong to the terms on which it is offered.

The one really unforgiveable characteristic of human nature is "humbug" or hypocrisy. It is the increase of this in modern civilised society which makes him turn with relief to Spain where "...men are more simple in their villainy and their nobility than/

1. In "Mogreb-el-Acksa" p. 52.

2. In "Progress" p.4, he recoils from the idea of preserving one's soul at all costs. The soul thus carefully saved may be a shrivelled thing. Better to lose one's soul gallantly and keep one's humanity, he says. Soul-saving meant selfishness to him; humanity denoted compassion.

3. See his study on saints in "Faith".

4. "Thirteen Stories", p. 184.

than it is possible to be in the dim regions of electric light"¹, to the gauchos who "are relatively honest in their worst actions, in a way we cannot understand at all in our more complicated life";² to "Doughty Deeds" Graham and the Georgians who:

".....did not cant about temptation and the weakness of the flesh, and above all, they never talked about their miserable souls or mourned their backslidings, knowing full well that they would slide again if ice were slippery."³.

"Humbug" was continually on his lips as the one choice word of anathema above others. He did not want hypocrites redeemed. He wanted them damned.

I think probably his final view of men was a mystery to himself. I agree with Paul Bloomfield, when he says: "I can think of no secular writer who was more constantly and sensitively pre-occupied with the rights and wrongs of human behaviour than Graham."⁴ He thinks of right and wrong as the fundamental, most meaningful choice in all life.⁵ One would expect him to look for an eternal validity and authority for them. But equally with this concern which just falls short of a redemptive one, he seems to me to hold a strong love for unself-conscious life, the life which though not identified with, is yet not too far removed from that of the "other animals.....without whose co-operation in the Creator's scheme of things we would soon cease to be;⁶ that of the gaucho Froilan:

".....a pagan of the type of those who lived their lives in peace, before Mohammedanism and Christianity, and their mad, myriad sects, loomed on the world and made men miserable, forcing them back upon themselves, making them introspective, and causing them to lose their time in thinking upon things which neither they, nor anyone in/

1. "Success", p. 76.

2. Ibid, p. 25.

3. "Doughty Deeds", p. 58.

4. "The Essential Cunninghame Graham", Introduction, p. 21.

5. "The Conquest of New Granada", p. 247.

6. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 165.

in a ridiculous revolving world can ever solve, and losing thus the enjoyment of the sun, the silent satisfaction of listening to the storm, and all the joys which stir the natural man when the light breeze blows on his cheek as his horse gallops on the plain."¹.

It is as if man's loss in Eden is his eating the fruit of self-conscious knowledge, and as if all that is left to him is a meaningless (in a final sense) yet important choice of right over against wrong. For the rest, the tensions, the contradictions patent to anyone who tries to make life add up - a shrug of the shoulders.

1. "Success", p. 23.

MAN'S MAKER.

The lands in which Cunninghame Graham lived out his life put him in touch with primitive paganism, with Christianity and Mohammedanism, and often with a blend of paganism and faith. He would ride under the stars and wonder at the meaning of man's life on this star. He found some atheism, some agnosticism and much Christian protest in the new social attitude which can be traced back to the seventies of last century in Britain: and a strongly moral agnosticism among the philosophers and scientists, of whom T.H. Huxley stood representative when he stated his conviction:

".....that there is no alleviation for the sufferings of mankind except veracity of thought and action, and the resolute facing of the world as it is when the garment of make-believe by which pious hands have hidden its uglier features is stripped off."

He was dedicated "....to untiring opposition to that ecclesiastical spirit, that clericalism, which in England, and whatever denomination it may belong, is the deadly enemy of science."¹.

Among divided churches Cunninghame Graham found it difficult to discern one God represented to man. He thought Mohammedanism, with its one God Allah, more understandable than Christianity with its Trinity.².

As has been noted, he had a capacity for entering into the outlook of other people and speaking as if he had made it his own. He speaks for the conception of God found in other races, which here would tend to be contemptuously dismissed; the Indians' gualichu tree, the African's ju-ju, the God-monarchs of the Incas, and contrasts them favourably with the "Christian's god", - money. When he speaks for himself, it is as if he gained/

1. From "Autobiography" in his Collected Essays, vol.i.

2. He calls the doctrine of the Trinity "dabbling in polytheism" in "Progress", p. 179.

gained little illumination from these palyglot influences and had to discern God with a direct perception of the senses.

He speaks of God in two different ways. Looking at life and failing to find in it a pattern of significance, he comes to one conclusion. Thinking of the variety and beauty of created life, he comes to another.

In face of the futility of life he sees God as "...the great ringmaster in Eden..."¹. At times it seems that "...all the world is but a pantomime badly put on the stage by an incompetent stage manager..."². Or, for him "....God seems to sit, presiding blindly over a world which either mocks Him or is mocked by Him..."³.

"The conception of a not impossible one God, not caring overmuch for that which he has made, but to be appealed to when the flesh is weakening....appeals at times to all who have lived either in deserts, pampas, or in any other of the vast, open spaces of the earth, and more especially when the nights are fine."⁴.

So, he says, God exists: but there would appear to be no rational redemptive connection between His existence and the fandango we dance on earth.

As we have seen, in his wonder at the natural world, and in the feeling that the world is not man's property to be dealt with in terms of ends he sets it, Cunningham Graham speaks with real reverence of God. Looking over a prospect of countryside, he notes "...a vast and always changing scheme of colour, such as no earthly palette could ever have devised."⁵. God's existence just has to be posited. But he judges that the/

1. "Writ on Sand", p. 9.

2. "The Ipane", p. 180. Cf. p. 188.

3. "Faith", p. 92.

4. "Progress", p. 179, cf. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 195.

5. "The Conquest of Granada", p. 4.

the world is a provision made by God for man, and that we are not to look beyond it. Speaking of the sweet savours of life in the tropics, he writes:

"That is the true millenium...and each man makes or mars it for himself, as long as health gives him power to drink it in, and to enjoy."¹.

Yet, though God is removed from this life (and Cunninghame Graham prefers it so for His intervention would load the dice, and take the admirable quality out of human daring and resource²) it is implied that He is Judge at the end. He will gather up the seas.³ Since He is not deceived by those who honour Him only for the uses they may have of Him,⁴ and is not hoodwinked by those who use His name and crush the poor, or otherwise violate His good will,⁵ He must in the end accuse and vindicate. This power is assumed to be God's, but the thought is nowhere developed more adequately.

Occasionally, Cunninghame Graham indicates the existence of a present link with this remote God, apart from that inexplicable secret stair he bequeathed to mystics. Communion then is thought of in terms of an over-all comprehending relationship^{of} which one is given an awareness, so that the soul is lifted:

"... out of the region of mere selfish yearnings to be one with God, for its own welfare, into communion, not only with the Deity, but with all that he has made."⁶.

God is still not participant. He is related to but does not influence life. The nearest he comes to the thought of God's relevance to human life, is when he rejects idolatrous anthropomorphisms: God as the Patron of Big Business or of a class, of a race - as Silvio Sanchez, the negro poet, discerned it:

"...my very God is white, made in your image, imposed upon my race/

1. "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 235.

2. "The Conquest of New Granada", p. 132.

3. "Doughty Deeds," p. 6.

4. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", pp. 273, 282.

5. "Hernando de Soto", Preface, pp. vii, viii.

6. "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 187; cf. "Faith" p. 169.

race by yours. His menacing pale face has haunted me from childhood, hard and unsympathetic."¹.

or of nation - as when natives turn in judgment on empire-builders, saying "These were but weaklings, and their God made in their image, merely an Anglo-Saxon and anthropomorphous fool."².

Christ is thought of as a fairy, a phenomenon, Who may be the express image of God's person but Whose life does not change our state. True, Cunninghame Graham, always speaks reverently of Christ, and can say: "...the birth of Him Who died upon the Cross to bring peace to the earth"³. True, he reacts against idolatrous worship. Of Cortes' exhortation to his soldiers before marching on Mexico, he wrote: "One fails to recognise the Saviour as the God of Battles."⁴ Of the bitter sectarian church life of Selvagia he writes: "Not that Jesus had ever ought to do with Gart-na-cloich. The deity worshipped there is Dagon, or some superfetated Moloch born in Geneva."⁵ Yet the most we can distinguish, I believe, is his belief in the genuine intention of Christ, allied with complete mystification concerning its realisation in the world's life.

The Holy Spirit is rarely mentioned. I remember but one allusion to His person.⁶

? Life is a hand-over. Its obstinate tenor is unaffected by the existence of God, the coming of Christ, the presence of the Holy Spirit. Man goes it alone. Better so, for though the futility of life presses on one, human freedom is preserved, even at cost:

"His/

1. "Hope", p. 117.

2. "The Ipane", p. 256.

3. "Charity", p. 73.

4. "Bernal Diaz del Castillo", p. 73, footnote.

5. "The Ipane", p. 194.

6. "Horses of the Conquest", p. 73.

"His will will be accomplished, who, having made the earth a paradise, gave it to us to turn into a purgatory for ourselves and all the dwellers in it."1.

Probably Allah represented a picture of God more acceptable to his mind than that given by the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he was, as I have said, the residuary legatee of many expressions of religion. Here is one place where these are not fused in his thought.

"The Ipane", p. 66.

II. CHURCH, BOOK, TRADITION.

a. Church and Churches.

The larger part of Cunninghame Graham's life was lived in a century in which the church, abroad, was on the offensive in its missionary enterprise and, at home, was on the defensive against evolutionary theories and Biblical criticism - or raised a wall against these behind which to carry on business as usual. It made little attempt to grapple with the economic and social threat to man's being. That declaration of man's worth which had to relate to the structure of society and employ economic enlightenment and compassion as its terms was missing, except in the mouths of a few prophets. Instead of facing the new knowledge, and being instructed by it about the scope of the atonement and the perspective of God's work in history, the church tended to plunder truth for those elements which supported orthodoxy. Divisiveness was strong, especially in Scotland.

Cunninghame Graham did not so much speak in condemnation as simply leave the church out of the reckoning. It might stand for one part of man's life which had to be asserted, but the things to be about were the things which it ignored or against which it opposed its dead weight. He did not live to see the flowering of the ecumenical movement in the Twentieth Century and the balance redressed. He did not live to hear Dr. William Temple, Professor Reinhold Niebuhr and Dr. George MacLeod expound the place of nature and society in the whole redemptive scheme, without using terms of reaction.

Cunninghame Graham knows that doctrine can challenge the foundations
of/

of society.¹ But in practice it formed "a sort of extra economic police force,²" putting the stress on order, undervaluing justice. In the confusion of motive which represented in churchgoing, he distinguishes this element:

"Some went to pray, others resorted to the fane from custom, and again, some from a vague feeling their religion was a bulwark reared in defence of property, in seasons of unrest."³

Too often then is class-intention behind the erection of churches, - at the instance of "...those who thought the gospel should be brought home to the poor".⁴

There is no onslaught, however. The church's disapproval cannot long hinder, any more than its approval can much advance the reform of society towards justice and equality. It is adaptable - but on grounds of expediency:

"The church, we know, adapts itself to every form of government, seeing at once that if it can bend or enslave (according to the reader's point of view) the mind, all the rest is merely leather and prunella, and that the republican can contribute to the offertory as freely as the best believer in the divine right of kings."⁵

This is not genuine flexibility derived from vitality, but a concern for self-preservation at all costs. It conveys:

"The familiar, mouldy smell, preserved, no doubt, just as miraculously as the orders of the bishops who rule over it."⁶

Of such a church not much social righteousness can be expected.

He has a strange, niggling distaste for the offertory, going out of his way to deride "...the circulation of the hat, - that awful mystery which makes all sects kin."⁷ But the scattered charges which he makes otherwise have/

1. The doctrine of the Brazilian Mystic did, he notes in the book of that title, p. 196.
2. Article "Patriotism" in "The People's Press" Sept. 27th., 1890.
3. "Charity", p. 74. In a comment preserved in a Scrap Book he describes a Church Defence Association as "a Tory caucus".
4. "Success", p. 82.
5. "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 47.
6. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 120.
7. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 131; so also in "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 92 and "Jose Antonio Paez, p. 270 and often elsewhere.

have much more substance. Faith without works always raises his bristles.

Of Selvagia he writes:

"Going to church with us replaces charity - that is, it covers a multitude of things. A man may cheat and drink, be cruel to animals, avaricious, anything you please so that he goes to church he still remains a Christian and enters heaven by his faith alone."¹.

Churches should always be open²; the market woman should be able to put down her wares and be at home in them³; God should not be laid up in lavender six days of the week.⁴ A sense of humour was wanting in them, and would be a saving thing.⁵ "God-boxes", he called churches in letters, managing to suggest by the word at once distaste for uncomely church architecture, and a sense of the restriction on the Deity which churches, by their life, seemed to impose.⁶

For the straightforward, sincere worshipper, he always had respect. A "Christian on all four sides" he would call him, in the Spanish idiom. But it is notable that his admiration was reserved chiefly for a Spaniard, "the great and really Christian Alvar Nunez",⁷ whose life was not associated in his mind with church-going, but with humble and healing contacts with the American Indians, and with practical policies of integrity and justice for administering the new colonies of Spain.

He himself was an occasional church-goer, attending the ministrations of Mr. McLean at Gartmore and, sometimes, it would appear, being present at Anglican services. He was attracted by the mystery and colour of the Roman ritual/

1. "The Ipane" p. 197; cf. "Progress", pp. 201, 211.

2. "Father Archangel of Scotland", p. 121.

3. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", pp. 133-4.

4. "Mogreb-el-Aksa", p. 127.

5. "Conquest of the River Plate", p. 225.

6. He suggests that God is restricted by the kind of worship He receives in "The Ipane" p. 228, and "A Hatchment", p. 80.

7. "Pedro de Valdivia", p. 98.

ritual, and by its blending of Christianity and paganism, which ministered to his preference for the gentle relating of past to present. Non-Conformist worship consisted of "howling in conventicles", - but, then, "Non-Conformist" was a word of emotional prejudice, a swear-word, to him.

The sacraments are rarely mentioned. Cunninghame Graham's sense of humour is uppermost when he tells how a Spanish expedition, deprived in the end of the vestments and elements for celebrating Mass, resorted to a maimed ritual after the kind advocated by the infamous Calvin.¹ Baptism more frequently claims his attention. It appears to him to be a ceremony meaningless in itself, adopted for superstitious reasons,² or in the sheep-making process of proselytism, in which case the inducement of bribes is very often a necessary accompaniment.³ What he chiefly girds at is the practice of making baptism a compensation for life.⁴ The Jesuit missionary takes Wood Indians from their own environment to a mission station, where the unaccustomed heat of the sun soon kills them off - and thinks he does well, since the guarantee of heaven given thereby makes the continuance of their earthly life of small import.

His incapacity to give any rational or significant place to baptism is probably best expressed in these words:

"If it were necessary, it surely might have taken place in their own home, and the patients might then have been left to chance, to see how the reception of the holy rite acted on their lives."⁵

Like inoculation it "takes", or it has no effect. He notes the practice of "debaptism" where, by a ritual soiling of the hair and scraping of the tongue the/

1. "Hernando de Soto", p. 151.

2. Shielding men from evil spirits: "Progress" p. 85.

3. "Down the Orinoco in a Canoe" S. Perez Triana, Preface.

4. As in "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 72.

5. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 73.

the baptised status may be abrogated by natives.

In a letter home, dated June 17th., 1879, Cunninghame Graham asks if Mala (Malise, his brother) is turning into a "méaly-mouthed vicar". Although he was on good personal terms with his brother and a number of other clergymen, as a class he found them wanting.

In an article written on the Trade Union Congress of 1890, he describes as among those present:

"....a clergyman or two, wandering, addle-pated, hard-working blind guides of the blind."¹.

The irrelevance of their acknowledged energy to the real plight of men is pointed in another article entitled "Happy Christmas". The master reduces wages, and the colliery proprietor or coal merchant puts up the price of coal--..

"Goodwill among men!" murmurs the parson, as he bites the end of his pen and thinks of a taking title for his charitable appeal...

The parson will spread and sun himself in the warmth of his own goodness in being the medium of the benevolence of the charitable - in other words, being the dealer in celestial salve for scratched consciences."².

"....not that they are all conscious humbugs", he adds, in fairness. But their ambulance work afforded no relief to men oppressed by the system itself.

The very awkwardness of Rev. Arthur Bannerman, priest-convert to Romanism from Anglicism, arouses his pity. He describes him as:

"....of a mean presence, with the fair hair, blue eyes and freckled skin which, with a stutter and a shamle, fit a man for ministration to his fellows....

.....Good and ridiculous but loveable...."³.

Pity/

1. Article "After the Congress" in "The People's Press", Sept. 13th., 1890.

2. "The People's Press", January 3rd., 1891.

3. "Success", p. 117.

Pity seems to be all he has to give as an alternative to scorn.

Eloquent only when death has taken the risk from approval, the clergy are shown up in their full timidity by Keir Hardie's funeral, where Cunninghame Graham listens to:

"....long exordiums passed upon the man who in his life had been the target for the abuse of press and pulpit."¹

As he sees it (on the subject of ill-treatment of animals):

"Popes and Archbishops of Canterbury, of Paris, York, Toledo and the rest, are dumber than dumb dogs, fearing to offend, ~~fearing~~ it may be said that animals have souls, or daring not to speak because of the stronger brethren. For which priest, tub-thumper, bishop, Pope or minister of any sect, take thought about the feelings of the brethren who are weak..."²

The traditions of the anti-clericalism of Radical Liberalism and the working-class movement were inherited by him, and he added something of his own. Isolation from reality, lack of vision and lack of courage kept clergymen from being a force to be reckoned with in society, in his judgment.

The church and its ministers, by and large, he left out of the picture. But one aspect of church life merits the full impetus of Cunninghame Graham's condemnation - its divided, sectarian character. It is a mark of his discernment that this should be the scandal on which he fastens. He gives it more attention than any other feature of church life. To him it appeared to make the church incredible as a truth-bearer. He speaks in scorn of:

"....the/

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1. "Brought Forward", p. 56.
 2. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 200.

"....the multitudinous sects of Nonconformists, who, scattered over two hemispheres, yet hate one another with enough intensity to enable mankind to perceive that they had comprehended to the full the doctrines of the New Testament."1.

He found this affront in the contending mission work of different churches:

"the way of the neophyte even today is hard, as many priests of different, jarring sects disputing for his soul as hotly as if it were a preference stock, which they had private information was just about to rise."2.

But more clearly than anywhere else he found it so in Scotland. He writes of the village Selvaigia or Gart-na-cloich:

"In every house a picture of Dr. Chalmers flanked by one of Bunyan, and a Bible ever-ready on the table for advertisement.Two churches and two public houses, and a feud between the congregations of each church as bitter as that between the clients of the rival inns. No whisky or no doctrine from the opposing tavern or conventicle could possibly be sound.... ,....much faith and little charity."3.

The intolerance this bred ("Only theologians are as intolerant as horsemen", he says, speaking of the one way of salvation for faith and horsemanship⁴), and the crudity to which life was degraded by it, are memorably set out in this sketch. The contradiction of divisions to the very idea of worship is one to which he returns in a later work:

"Just as the faithful were assembled in their conventicles adoring the same deity, all filled with rancour against one another because their methods of interpretation of the Creator's will were different.."5.

The warring divisions of the church provide an illustration to him to illuminate other bitter relationships, as that between Gaucho and Indian,⁶ and politician and/

1. "The Ipane", p. 188.

2. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 89.

3. "The Ipane", p. 191.

4. "Father Archangel of Scotland," p. 126.

5. "Brought Forward", p. 131.

6. "Success", p. 12.

and politician.^{1.}

All he does is to state his annoyance at the harrying of people by different sects, and the confusion this entails for them, especially on the mission field. He clearly sees that divisions reduce life to a low level. He does not discern any hope of the future development of harmonious relationships between the churches - he rather takes it that sectarian squabbles are bound to continue to be a mark of the church. In the end, it appears to me, he shrugs his shoulders and gives it up. About warring Republicans in Brazil he wrote:

"They held the doctrine that all creeds should be allowed; which I once held myself, but now incline to the belief that a religion and a name should be bestowed at baptism, and that it should be constituted heresy of the worst kind, and punishable by a fine, to change or palter with either the name or the religion which our fathers have bestowed."^{1.}

I do not think this is said in jest. It is said in despair at making sense of a divided church.

Not so much in the church as in the world he found people who typified the true life of man, and yet represented some inaccessible quality of living, which meant that to the ordinary run of men they remained beings apart. These were the saints. The word is not used theologically, related to sanctification, but rather popularly, related to the idea of moral stature and integrity. Yet it is related to Christ. Christ represented the kind of life Cunningham Graham could not distinguish in the church; truthful, just, and sacrificial. Christ is the pattern for the true saints. The words of Nicanor/

1. "Thirteen Stories", p. 29.

Nicanor in "The Fourth Magus", to the wandering fakir, draw a picture which was to serve the author as a guide to saintliness:

Nicanor: "...he was to redress man's wrongs, lift up the down-trodden, to heal the halt, make the blind see, fight the oppressor, and be a shield unto the weak. Can it be then that in Jerusalem they execute a man for striving for such ends?"

Fakir: "Where have you lived....and do not know that such a man since the beginning of the world can have but such a fate."¹.

In his book, "Faith", he offers a developed picture of what constitutes sainthood.

The saint of whom he writes is not a churchman:

"Our eyes are just as slow to mark them as were the eyes of those who slew and tortured them in days gone by....

I knew one, though, that is, if stripes and prisons oft, the scorn of men, a life of poverty and a pure nature, with a soul afire at all injustice, constitute a saint".².

He goes on to draw the general verdict:

"There can be no saintliness without revolt in some shape or other against the myriad meannesses that dwarf mankind....Easier far it would have been to have sunk into mere resignation (by that sin men have fallen deeper than even angels fell by pride..."³.

A saint is one whose judgment is absolute, and who "in deed, thought and life" acts out that judgment. He is therefore "out of this world". Cunningham

Graham described his saint as "....Quite unfitted for the world he lived in by his outrageous love of truth".⁴. Don Marino, another man "only fit for God"

was also "a rank blasphemer against faith".⁵. It is something in the con-

stitution of the man which makes a saint - he is a seeker who carries his goal within him from the day he sets out,⁶. and this, it would appear, is his only and sufficient reward.

Lack/

1. "Hope" p. 160.

3. p. 43

5. "Progress", p. 124.

2. p. 42.

4. p. 50.

6. "Hope" p. 154.

Lack of belief in the world's redemption, in the relevance of the church, and in the presence and power of the Holy Spirit leaves as Cunninghame Graham's only hope the cry raised for truth against injustice by lonely men. Often this would seem to be without effect, for though the saints shine as bright lights in a naughty world, there is no path for ordinary men, constituted otherwise, which their lives may illumine. Yet Cunninghame Graham challenges his own philosophy in his recurring sense that lives based on absolutes of truth and self-sacrifice matter, and they produce a more wholesome heritage, for which the inheritors should be thankful. Of Christian martyrs, he writes:

"I often wonder if the Christians of today....know what they owe to....such....for martyrdom, no matter how obscure, forgotten by the people of the faith for which the martyr suffered, is a slur not only on the faithful, but on the faith itself."¹

Yet even in Christian martyrs, I think he would find the church loyalty secondary. They carry an inner goal, unrelated to church life. The church as he sees it is continents away from that "outrageous love of truth" and justice which marks the world's saints.

1. "A Vanished Arcadia" p. 91.

5. Missions.

In his travels, Cunninghame Graham came across missionaries of many different denominations and sects. In South America he found the relics of the Jesuit "missiones~~es~~es" and traced their history.¹ In his reading he lighted on many quaint and crude attempts at proselytism.²

He does appear to be influenced by the charges, derived from Marxism, which lumped missionary activity with British imperialism as a mode of exploitation and oppression. His observations are direct. They do not appear to be related to church accounts of missionary work except by occasional contrast of judgment, and are too individual in character to belong to any political or economic party line. The background against which his personal observations may be set is best represented by a comment (probably Editorial) in "The People's Press". It relates to Cunninghame Graham's notice of question in Parliament regarding inspection and restriction of hours of labour in the cotton mills of India (where children of seven to ten years of age worked ten to twelve hours per day). It says:

"Truly if those persons who prate so much of the "poor heathen" when a mission collection is on, would only put half the energy thus wasted into stopping or hindering the raids of the Christian sweater upon the helpless natives of every land he can reach, they would be doing more good. But by doing so they would offend their wealthy congregations, and they dare not risk it."³

In other words, the large economic implication in missionary work is neglected. Missionary Departments and Societies in our own day would acknowledge the criticism/

1. In "A Vanished Arcadia".

2. One of the earliest was a "find" in Spain, which contained the record of Father Archangel's mission to preach Roman Catholicism in Scotland, "one of the most desperate of these theological filibustering expeditions".

3. "The People's Press", November 29th., 1890.

criticism to be a valid one. In the great missionary expansion of last century there was insufficient sense (there was a real sense in places) of the economic and political freedom required for man by the gospel and insufficient sense of Christ's Lordship over His manifold creation. Before the missionary came God was working with the races of men. The meaning of this was not understood. Various forms of slavery needed to be broken - not one. Inadequate justice is done in Cunningham Graham's account to the great number who did go out humbly, to deliver out of the hands of moneylenders, to learn as well as to teach, not to abolish but to fulfil native ways and insights, to rid men of superstition, and fear, to broaden their minds with education, to commend to them the gospel of redemption in its universal validity as no foreign faith. He concentrates on judgments which yet were valid, Some missionaries were so keen on "head-hunting" that they missed justice and mercy. Some, inadvertently, were the means of opening a very Pandora's box of various ills upon the people to whom they came to minister.

The missionary is often depicted "Bible and gun in hand" in Cunningham Graham's writings. The image suggests both a leaning upon Western material superiority, identification with an imperialistic civilization; and at the same time some want in courage and faith. The modern missionary (late 19th. early 20th. centuries) is contrasted with:

"....some Jesuit in the days gone by, when missionaries stood up before their catechumens unsustained by Gatling guns, sheltered but by a rude cross in their hands and their meek lives."¹.

About Arabs and Barbers in their imperviousness to Christian persuasion, he writes/

1. "Thirteen Stories", p. 33, cf. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 224.

writes:

"A day will come, no doubt, when their hearts will prove more malleable; but I fear that before that time their bodies will have to be much wrought upon by rifles, revolvers and other civilizing agents which commonly precede the introduction of our faith."¹.

The missionary is not depicted as the spearhead of imperialism but rather as its parasitical ally.

However, a charge more seriously pressed home is that the missionary is just one more influence upsetting native life. So much is he the ally of commercial interests and the bearer of western diseases, that he is accounted directly responsible for the dual process of ~~s~~aving the natives' souls and delivering up their bodies to consumption and drink.² Western clothes, allied with the puritanical outlook of the missionary, robbed the native of the grace of his traditional life.³ Cunninghame Graham brings all his guns to bear when he speaks of the keeping secret, unmapped, of a newly discovered archipelago, lest the islanders suffer:

"... the introduction of corruption, gin and syphilis and all the thousand woes that islanders endure from the misguided zeal of honest missionaries. Who does not feel as if a slug was crawling on his soul in reading some missionary report of all their misdirected labours and their sufferings, and of the perils that they have endured to turn some fine, free race of savages, interesting to us by their customs and their relation to ourselves, into bad copies of our lowest class, waddling about in ill-made clothes and claiming kindred with us as brother "Klistians" in the Lord?"⁴.

The arrogance of treating native life as valueless, expendable, shapeless material on which to impose a Western pattern, always raised his ire. One of his/

1. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", pp.126, 7. 2. "Faith", p. 196.
3. "Charity" pp. 202,204; "Father Archangel of Scotland", p. 95.
4. "Progress", pp. 4,5.

his gravest charges against missionaries is their (often unconscious) racial arrogance. The act of "....forcing his own mode of life and faith on those who live a happier, freer life" is laid at the door of the missionary's "ignorance born of self-conceit."¹ He believes missionaries consider any outrages involved in their coming, incidental and atoned for by the introduction of the true faith (and as was the case with the Conquistadors):

"Now missionaries and conquerors are men, on the whole, more imbued with their own importance and sanctity, and less disposed to consider consequences than almost any other classes of mankind."² he writes.

The result is that they cause irreparable damage not only to their victims but to the repute of their faith.³

This repute, he believes, is also assaulted by the methods they employ. It is not things scriptural but material which are the real attraction: "guns, cotton, cloth, rum, tea"⁴. "glass beads and looking glasses"⁵. - these are the "potent factors in conversion."⁵

As a persuasion in itself, the gospel would be a more creditable export were it not for East London and "the types which haunt the streets of manufacturing towns"⁶. He feels the gospel should show the power to deliver at home before being launched abroad. He believes, in the end, I think that all missionaries should stay at home, and leave natives to their happier, primitive state; "let others follow their destiny as best pleases them" without "officious interference" - let proselytism stop ^{this} ~~adding~~ to the desert places of/

1. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 178.

2. Ibid, p. 11.

3. So "Progress" p. 219 re Rev. Archibald Macrae.

4. "Mogreb-el-Acksa" p. 123.

5. "A Vanished Arcadia" p. 232.

6. "Mogreb-el-Acksa" pp. 23, 69.

of the earth, seeking to remedy the errors of their God by their exertions."¹.

I find Cunninghame Graham's sketches of missionaries extremely interesting. In some there stand out clear those features which he condemned, in others he expresses his puzzlement at a phenomenon which cannot be exhausted by any terms which he can employ. A picture of a group of missionaries on a boat is redolent of judgment, yet not without pity:

"Gaunt-featured girls, removed by physical conditions from all temptation...they formed a crushing argument in themselves against polygamy. Still, in the main, all kindly souls, and some with a twinkle in their white-lashed, steel-grey eyes.....which showed you they would gladly suffer martyrdom without due cause, or push themselves into great danger, out of their ignorance and want of knowledge of mankind....carefully educated to be ashamed of any scrap of womanhood they might possess. Still they were sympathetic, for sympathy is near-akin to tears.... (the men)....seemed as if they had been chosen, after much cogitation, by some unskilled commission, for their unfitness for their task.

They, too, dogged and narrow-minded as they were, were yet pathetic when one thought upon their lives. No hope of converts or of advancement in the least degree, stuck down upon the coast, far off from Dorcas meetings, school feasts or anything which in more favoured countries whiles away the Scripture reader's time, they hammered at their self-appointed business day by day and preached unceasingly, apparently indifferent to anything that passed, so that they got off their due quantity of words a day."².

A sketch follows of McKerrocher, a 'professional Scottish religionist', 'a last relic of a disappearing type', who preached Hell-fire and Paradise as uncompromising alternatives, the jealous Scottish God, and a Mosaic dispensation accepted whole: who, "Wrong-headed as befits his calling", "led a joyless, stirring life", and neglected entirely "the more human qualities of courtesy and love".². This is the condemnation.

Read/

1. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 225.

2. "Thirteen Stories", pp. 93-96.

Read, in Cunninghame Graham's works, any adverse judgment on real people¹ which is blistering in its assault, and then re-read the passage. You will find him more just and merciful than the large condemnation would suggest. The fact is, he is a fair observer, noting, too, those things which do not fit his own estimate of missions. So he draws a very different picture of Mairn, the missionary, in "Mogreb-el-Acksa". After meeting him he writes:

"and, as I rode, I mused upon the mystery of faith and marvelled still to see the honest, single-hearted missionary ploughing the stony vineyard of the Moorish heart, quite as contentedly and just as hopefully as four years ago....without a convert or the chance of making one..."².

He goes on to more general comment:

"Not that I mean to undervalue missionaries, they have their uses, but in a different way from that which, perchance, they think themselves. What they can do is to set forth, in countries like Morocco, that they are not mere merchants trying to deceive all those with whom they deal....pureness of their life and their untiring kindness to the poor....their minds are fixed not upon gain but prayer...."².

There is a characteristic bafflement expressed here; and the impression that there are less stony vineyards on which time would be better spent³. but underlines the feeling that there is some source of conviction in honest missionary work which he cannot fathom. It is characteristic of his attitude that good is considered, like evil, as an incidental and often unconscious product of missionary work, as if the fetid ulcers and sores were dealt with of necessity, and self-denial were an unintentional, by-product testimony; while what the missionary would really like is "...a crowd of dusky catechumens, dressed in white with flowers in their hair and innocence in every heart!"⁴. He does not seem to see that/

1. Types, such as the Capitalist, the Non-Conformist, may be damned with a judgment unrelieved.

2. "Mogreb-el-Acksa" pp. 286,7.

3. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 73.

4. Ibid, p. 24.

that missionaries may go out, with no romantic notions in their minds, to offer the humble testimony of self-denial and healing as the most apt expression of their faith. It is not to their faith that he ascribes sympathy, compassion, deliverance from different yokes, but to the overcoming of their faith by their humanity. Of one he writes:

"Like Moffat and like Livingstone, he burned with zeal to change the faith of men who had done him no previous injury, and like them, having begun his labours, his humanity rose superior to his dogma."¹

His fairness struggles with his heartsickness. So much is he hurt by the destruction of native ways of life, the intrusion of shoddy Western influences, the introduction of diseases and debasing habits which accompany missionary "filibustering;" so unimpressed is he with the uncomely and hard dogmatic lives of the narrower types of missionaries; that he does not bring into focus the fear, disease and bondage in which natives lived, which cried out for deliverance. Yet he will not give a one-sided picture. When he approves humanity rising superior to dogma he comes as near as he can to recognise the indwelling love of Christ, without which he can offer no adequate explanation of the missionary's motive.

Cunninghame Graham was always a realist. He never dealt much with "if onlys". Missionaries are to be found in many lands. What sort of good is to be sought from acceptance of this fact?

One of his most illuminating stories, to me, is found in his book "Progress". It is entitled "A Convert" and concerns the labours of a detested, tactless, honest, aggressive missionary, Mr. Macrae. His standing ground was "Ye/

1. "Father Archangel of Scotland," p.

"Ye see, I hae the Worrd o' God, and if the heathen dinna come to listen to it, they will all burrn". Monday Flatface, a native chief, resisted all his arguments: and there grew up a certain irritated respect between them for each other. One day Flatface came, anxious and drawn. His wife was gravely ill. If Mr. Macrae would pray and recover her, he would offer himself for baptism. Mr. Macrae went to the village where much sacrifice and ceremonial noise met eye and ear. He administered quinine and prayer. The wife got worse. Monday Flatface cut off one of his fingers as a sacrificial offering; then, when he saw no improvement, another. This touched Mr. Macrae deeply. As he put it:

"Ma heart just yearned to him and I yokit prayin' as if I had been asking for my ain soul's grace, and syne our prayers were heard."

The wife recovered, and the relationship between Mr. Macrae and the chief was on a new footing, "...whiles I think his God and mine are no so far apart, as I aince thocht.", was the astonishing verdict of this "professional religionist."

The title of the sketch was "A Convert". Who was the convert?

In the story the missionary and the chief were converted to each other, had their eyes opened to one another's real being. This, it would appear to me, is considered by him to be the one valid expression of missionary enterprise - that men should become converted to each other, and learn to understand and appreciate one another's being. It is a view which could fit in with a humanitarian philosophy. Man is bound in a commonalty with all others, and man is all-in-all to himself, so he might at least extend his sympathy to his fellowmen. It is a view which could fit in with a Christian outlook. Christ already reigns and makes his influence felt, even where He is not recognised, even among those who worship/

worship other gods; no man possesses Christ and can deal with another as a monopolist with a bankrupt: therefore the two, proselyter and would-be proselyte, from the same standing ground of contribution and need, should seek to know Christ together.

But there is no sign in Cunninghame Graham of any Christian philosophy which would give missionary work a status and rationale, and his personal outlook revealed no great sympathy for "bishops and missionaries", as he declared himself in the House of Commons.¹

1. On 27th. May 1892. Hansard.

2. The Bible.

Biblical sinews run through Cunninghame Graham's utterances and writings. References and allusions proved too numerous to record. The Bible was almost the only reading allowed him in prison in 1888. Tschiffely tells us that the book of Ecclesiastes was his favourite book; its astringent pessimism touched sounding strings in his own being which gave an answering note.

In the Bible he finds forthright and relevant speech. Of Sir Thomas More, whom he admired, he said: "He was almost as uncompromising as the Holy Scriptures..."¹. The Bible spoke for justice towards men. In a letter to the Winchester electors in support of a Liberal candidate, he wrote:

"/....vote for those who endeavour to set up to the spiritt contained in the Bible - to protect the oppressed, to shield the down-trodden, to make this world of ours merely a preparation for heaven and not a foretaste of hell."².

Flinging out at the theories of political economy during a meeting in Glasgow while he was on bail as a result of the Trafalgar Square incident, he said:

"What he would say was - Burn political economy and buy a Bible... they would find in the Bible not perhaps, better political economy but more humanity."³...

The Old Testament seemed to him to be a true record of a form of life in the East: "....the whole scheme of Arab life was photographed for us by the writers of the Pentateuch."⁴.

From time to time he shows discernment in eliciting the very flavour of Biblical situations. Of an uncouth character in the East he says:

"...he/

1. Article "Utopia" in "The People's Press", Oct., 11th., 1890.
2. Letter preserved in a Scrap Book.
3. Speech preserved in a Scrap Book.
4. "Thirteen Stories", p. 115.

"....he broke again into his monologue, almost against his will, just as the prophets sometimes seemed to speak in the Old Testament."¹.

Surveying Bahia from the ship on which he was sailing, he discerned:

"A land so peaceful that it was quite impossible there could exist in it evil or malice, hatred or envy, or any of the vices or the crimes that curse humanity. One understood the feelings of the apostles when they wished to build their tabernacles;....." ².

Of the institution of the Scapegoat, he said "nothing showed more clearly the profound knowledge of the human heart" (though this latter could also mean that it provided an easy way out for men).³.

He does not seem to be bothered about discrepancies in the text, saying of the jumbling up of inches and feet, hundreds and thousands in Hulderico Schmidel's chronicles of the Spanish Conquest of South America, that this happens "in even more important scriptures."⁴. He is quite conservative in his appreciation of the Bible as he has it, disliking modern translations,⁵ detesting man's use of it as "a sacred lucky-bag, accepting parts and utterly rejecting others that clashed with their ideals."⁶. He seems to conclude that the new Biblical criticism opened the way to another form of subjectiveness (and he was right - only in the last decade or two has the church properly recovered from the subjectivism of early Biblical criticism). Yet he clearly sees and jibs at the old form of subjectivism, which came from accepting the Bible whole from the hand of none/

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1. "Faith", p. 163. 2. "A Brazilian Mystic", Preface p. viii.
3. "Father Archangel of Scotland", p. 80.
4. "His People", p. 114. 5. "A Hatchment", p. 212.
6. "Doughty Deeds" p. 37.

none other than God, whilst in fact making one's own canon from it, for reading and conduct. So Calvinists knew the Bible for their own use "...as a stockbroker knows his share list or the mariner his compass....."¹. The missionary Macrae "passed his time looking up texts wherewith to pulverise...the infidel..."². Bilson, the "Bristol Fashion" skipper, took the Bible for a fetish, which brought some obscure good unrelated to daily conduct. He read a chapter to his own crew on Sundays, just as he "took in top-gallant sails at night, or purged his crew on entering low latitudes, from sheer routine."³.

Parsons featured those parts of the Bible in which men were exhorted to work and to be obedient, neglecting other counter-balancing parts.⁴

".....let poor Labour lift its head, down comes the brass-bound Bible smack upon it."⁵

Of the characters in the New Testament he likes Peter for his human loveableness and for his venturesomeness.⁶ Yet strangely - for the cry of the narrow Protestant religion he detested was "Wane o' your Peters, gie me Paul"⁷ - it is "the sarcastic, witty apostle to the Gentiles"⁸ who "cast the spell of his keen, humouristic speech upon the Greeks"⁹ who has won him. He found Paul patient and generous in character,¹⁰ loveable too, and when he mentions him/

1. "Father Archangel of Scotland", p. 80. 2. "Progress", p. 221.
3. "The Ipane", p. 127.
4. Editorial on a Dockers' Demonstration in "The People's Press", Aug. 16th., 1890.
5. Leader in "The People's Press" July 5th., 1890.
6. "Writ on Sand", pp. 105, 8. 7. See the sketch "Selvagia".
8. "Writ on Sand", p. 106. 9. "Brought Forward", p. 147.
10. "Redeemed", p. 65.

him, mentions him with admiration.

Allusions to the birth of Christ, and the Cross, are to be found here and there in Cunninghame Graham's works. But I can recollect no mention of the Resurrection and Ascension. The Cross is a memorial to the inevitable way in which men deal with the truth. It is as if Cunninghame Graham had never found in the Bible the claim that a work had been done for men by the Cross and Resurrection of Christ which affected human history directly and for ever; or as if he had already made up his mind about human life before he read, and so dismissed as incredible the saving work of the Cross and the fact of Resurrection.

d. Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.

"Cunninghame Graham's favourite toast "said Mr. Thomas Kerr to me in the City Chambers, Glasgow, "was "To Anti-Puritanism"". Puritanism, Non-Conformity, Calvinism - these words were loaded with connotations of disgust and detestation for him. Like magnets, they gather to themselves, in his hands, suggestions of intolerance and dogmatism, of drabness of life, of individualised self-seeking disguised under high-sounding pretensions.

In Scotland he found a faith which was often dour and bitter, devoid of grace in relationships and architecture, made inflexible and intolerant by divisions. This he called Calvinism. In Britain he distinguished a distrust of colour, vitality and natural gaiety, such as was native to the Latin life. This he called Puritanism. In politics and economies he found an attitude to society which permitted business men to adhere to excellent moral principles and still push their own advantage ruthlessly, which salved social consciences with slumming and purity campaigns. This to him was Non-Conformity.

Calvinism he calls "a simple, bloody creed".¹ He is surprised to find Luther so hated in Spain: the hatred should belong by rights to "the inhuman and treacherous Calvin." He points to "Servetus, whom first he calumniated, then entrapped, and lastly murdered in cold blood."² The "horror of the Geneva discipline", he/

1. Preface to "Orvieto Dust" by Wilfranc Hubbard.

2. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 192: similarly in "Doughty Deeds", p. 129, footnote.

he asserts, equals that of the Inquisition - indeed goes beyond it, since "no single item of your private life was free from its impertinence."¹ Calvin and Torquemada are lumped together, as persecutors of "savage and narrow malignity".² Knox is an accomplice: "...the tyranny of Geneva under the inquisitors Calvin and Knox",³ he calls it. Although in certain speeches he describes Knox as standing for religious freedom and educational advancement,⁴ Knox usually exemplifies intolerance and narrowness of outlook for him.⁵ In "The Ipane" he writes:

"I saw the yew trees under which John Knox is said to have preached and dealt with heresy and superstition, like the man he was, driving out all that kindly Paganism which is mingled with the Catholic faith, and planting in its stead the stern, hard, hyper-Caledonian faith which bows the knee before its God in a temple like a barn, and looks upon the miserable East end of Glasgow as a thing ordained by God."⁶

Cromwell and Sunday represent Puritanism to him. A comment on an article of Sidney Webb's in "The People's Press" of July 5th., 1890 sufficiently expresses his viewpoint. Cromwell made England respected and respectable - more's the pity. He gave us Jamaica and the British Sunday, Day of Horrors, Feast of Gloom. He cut down our maypoles, reft away our love-locks, clothed us in funereal black.

The Non-Conformist conscience, which was insensitive to the need/

1. "Doughty Deeds", p. 130. 2. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 3.

3. "Notes on the District of Menteith", p. 26.

4. Speeches inserted in Scrap Books.

5. Preface to "John Lavery and His Work", by Walter Shaw-Sparrow; and "Thirteen Stories", p. 9.

6. p. 184. One remembers a comment by Bishop Lesslie Newbiggin on Roman Catholicism in South India, which he saw as so compromised with Hinduism, that people did not know which was which.

need for a structural change in society, was subjected often enough to a blistering attack by him. In the article quoted above, he warns against any alliance with "...these smug chapel-goers, till-filchers (from the poor)..." The hard-headed Christian business man epitomises to him double-dealing in religion. One such he describes as "...kindly, of course, in everything but trade, which is a thing apart and sacred, semi-divine, sent straight from God."¹. He really cuts loose on the subject in another book:

"To each man after his demerits; to some day-books, ledgers, cash-boxes, and the entire armour of the Christian businessman.....Let them put it on, taking in their hand the sword of covetousness, having on their arms the shield of counterfeit, the helmet of double-dealing upon their heads, till they are equipped fully at all points to encounter man's worst enemy, his fellowman. Let them go forth, prevail, destroy, deceive, opening up markets, broadening their balances and their phylacteries; let them at last succeed and build their stucco palaces in Park Lane....."².

The protest of the poor at the "double-think" of the Christian sitting at ease in Zion and extending his security at the expense of others, may be indicated by a working man's ungrammatical, ill-spelt letter to the Press, (kept in a Scrap Book):

"We are tould to Be content in the station in Life in which the Lord as places us. But I say the Lord never Did place us there so we have no Right to Be content..."

A Report from Cornwall, in one "People's Press", lays responsibility for such a continuing dich^otomy between faith and works at the feet of numerous/

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1. "The Ipane", p. 164.
 2. "Success", pp. 187, 8.

numerous Non-Conformist lay preachers who, in the name of religion, urged quiet and contentment on their exploited mates, pointing to the golden city as compensation.^{1.}

A contrast of portraits comparing type with type sums up his verdict:

"An Eastern scoundrel's face is finer far than a Non-Conformist Cabinet minister displays, all spoiled with lines, with puckers round the mouth, a face in which you see all the natural passion stultified, and greed and piety - the two most potent factors in his life - writ large and manifest."^{2.}

When Cunningham Graham is dealing with contemporary matters, he offers valid criticism. His reaction against the Sabbatarianism of his day appears to be based on the belief that this was no Christian way of holding festival.^{3.} His detestation of the Non-Conformist came of knowing personally a class of professing Christians, who had become experts at "double-think", cheating men on weekdays, and attempting to cheat God on Sundays.^{4.} All this is fair enough as accusation. Remembering that Tories and landowners were more likely to be Anglicans by profession, we can understand his concentration on Non-Conformists, who represented booming business and commercial interests. But when he makes historical judgments, especially regarding Calvinism, he is simply ill-informed. A great, though understandable contrast is offered between his treatment of Reformers and Conquistadores. He does not give to the former the intensive, sympathetic study which he gives to the latter. He does not have the interest in the former period which the latter held for him/

1. "The People's Press", Sept. 27th., 1890. 2. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 116.

3. He says so at the opening of Buckleyvie Public Hall Sale at its Jubilee in 1934.

4. Article, "Happy Christmas" in "The People's Press", January 3rd., 1891.

him. He is content to make the word "Calvinist" an emotional, damnatory word; he filled the word "Conquistador" with nuances of sympathy and admiration which historical investigation and understanding supplied. His feeling for the underdog and especially the underdog of another race makes his prejudice characteristic: a battle had to be fought in his own land for a re-evaluation of the maligned soldiers of the Spanish Conquest; what represented Calvinism in his day was only too entrenched and sure of itself for anything but attack to be apposite. Calvinism, Puritanism, Non-Conformity, are words of revolt against "the myriad meannesses that dwarf mankind."¹

There were features of Roman Catholicism which appealed to him: its kindly adaptation to paganism, as he viewed it¹; its breadth of culture and contact²; its mysteriousness, by reason of the unknown tongue and mystic rites which it employed.³ He showed that capacity for getting under the very skin of attitudes to life which he personally could not share, when he says of Rev. Arthur Bannerman, Anglican priest turned Roman Catholic:

"All the romance and mysticism of the sole enduring Christian sect amazed and strengthened him, entering into his spirit and making him feel part and parcel of something stable, so pitched, inside and out, with such authority, that against its strength all the assaults of reason were foredoomed to fail."⁴

His own reason (and what can one employ but reason if one is not vouchsafed faith?) spoke loudly against this authority. In his first book, "Notes on the District of Menteith", he ridicules the practice of giving papal dispensations/

1. "A Hatchment", pp. 70, 79.

2. "Father Archangel of Scotland", p. 69. The whole sketch of a Scottish College in Spain is illuminating.

3. "What, after all," he says, "is better for the soul than prayer to an unseen God in an uncomprehended tongue": "Redeemed", p. 164.

4. "Success", p. 121.

dispensations. Robert II received papal dispensations for both his marriages (the second of which took place when the first wife was still alive): if the pope is infallible, somewhere he must have chosen not to exercise his infallibility, he suggests!¹. Of the claims of William, seventh Earl of Menteith, he writes:

"It may be that his blood was redder than the King's, but even if it was, another papal dispensation would doubtless have re-instated matters (and molecules) in their proper position."².

Speaking of a Roman Catholic he writes of "the prison in which his spirit was confined".³. Of a Roman Catholic town, he says: "Once a stronghold of clericalism, the city....is slowly getting free from the bonds of bigotry."⁴. The loathing with which some might regard the sight of a peasant kissing the brazen foe of the statue of St. Peter, he merely recorded with a shrug. The act forms "the backbone of the church which Peter founded, not on philosophy, but on blind faith."⁵.

Mr. Thomas Kerr remembers him at the time of the execution of Francisco Ferrer⁶. the educationalist, stamping the country and denouncing everywhere the Roman Catholic Church in Spain - for all his defence of it at other times against attacks which he thought ill-informed and factional.

He gives voice to one regret about Roman Catholicism, concerning one great lost opportunity of taking a stand for justice:

"The Roman tragedy of '48 with the People almost drawn into the European maelstrom of revolutionary thought, is interesting and all true Catholics should deplore the chance, once lost and not to be regained, of the church universal, with the Pope the shepherd of the poor."⁷.

Cunninghame/

1. p. 27.

2. Op. cit. p. 33.

3. "Charity" p. 49.

4. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu" p.133.

5. "A Hatchment", p. 78.

6. He of the system of "Scientific and Rationalistic Education."

7. Preface to "Revolutionary Types", by I.A. Taylor.

Cunninghame Graham was married to a Roman Catholic, the lands in which he felt most at home - Spain and South America - were Roman Catholic lands. He observed what he saw shrewdly and sympathetically. He defended what he thought was misunderstood or falsely derogated. He made his own criticisms. But it does not appear from his writings that he ever gave full study and attention to this or any other faith, or felt called upon to do so.

III. THE RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE.

a. Mysticism and Fanaticism.

When Cunninghame Graham, dealing with mysticism, speaks favourably of an irrational attitude to life, this must be immediately related to his desire to preserve the sense of mystery and grace in life. Arid dialectics, which subject everything to reason's scrutiny and put everything in its due place, empties life of its miraculous nature, and chills the sense of wonder:

"Religion, once made understandable to all, loses its authenticity, and soon degenerates into the arid dialectics of the self-righteous non-conformist. What so consoling to a religious man, as in a building (with the entry free) to join in singing praises to an Unknown God, in an uncomprehended tongue."¹.

Gabrielle was a mystic. Her mysticism must partly account for her husband's continual respect for an interior illumination to which he could not lay claim in his own experience. He was very prepared to believe that there were people who had access to a realm of knowledge to which he had been denied the key, and that this was a realm of genuine knowledge.² Speaking of the fairies, described by the author of "The Secret Commonwealth", he says:

"He saw them, for what we are convinced we see exists for us as certainly as if we touched it..... - with the interior vision, that vision a thousand times more vivid than the exterior eye."³.

Yet he must also speak for himself. His own attitude to mysticism is one of tonic distrust. The following quotations may sufficiently represent the feeling that it is unreliable and not to be compared with the claim of simple/

1. Preface to "Mogreb-el-Acksa"; cf. "The Conquest of New Granada", p. 43.

2. He detested G.B. Shaw's "St. Joan". If one has not inherited the gift of mystic illumination, that does not prove it non-existent or invalid, he would assert.

3. Introduction to the book.

simple duty:

"....mankind, who always have from the first ages, sought relief from facts and theories in rhapsodies, in mysticism, striving to build a wall of cobwebs up between that which they knew and that they wished to be the case."¹

and:

"How many men before the Rev. Arthur Bannerman have failed to see that there is nothing so materialistic as the mystic and supernatural, and that the dullest duties of the dreariest parish in reality are more transcendental than the dreams of the theologist?"².

The other side of irrationality in religion, fanaticism and madness, also met him in his experience. He contents himself with setting down his impressions of it, with little more judgment than his descriptions in themselves contain. He approved the practice in the East of keeping madmen and eccentrics in community with others (madness, being abnormal, was akin to divinity;

"....madness and faith are the same thing...."³). But of the religious fanatic he writes in cold irony:

"When once a man is well convinced that all he does comes from the Holy Ghost, there is but little that he cannot do with satisfaction to himself."⁴.

His main study of fanaticism was of Antonio Conselheiro, a Brazilian Gnostic of last century, who led a whole tribe of disciples and renegades into the scrub country of the Sertao, and defeated two Brazilian government expeditions before being wiped out, with all his crew. His millenarian doctrines both threatened the foundations of the existent state and encouraged the sexual licence/

1. "Success", p. 122.

2. Ibid, p. 118.

3. "Mogreb-el-Aksa", p. 8, cf. "Charity", p. 215 and "A Brazilian Mystic", p.69.

4. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 117.

licence which accompanied the religious upsurge. Cunninghame Graham speaks of an earlier manifestation of fanaticism under an Illuminado in Serra Talhada in 1831, where women sacrificed their children in a fury of religious ecstasy. It was a land and a people which was easily set alight. When Conselheiro spoke, "A thrill as of religious erotomania.." ¹ went through his hearers: they "...trilled and shivered in an orgasm of faith," ²; "Orgasms of piety", "wild intensity of faith", ³ marked their life. Cunninghame Graham recognises this irrational element in life as one to be found all over the world. It is seen in:

"....the mysterious agitation which in such cases, whether at revivals in Port Glasgow, camp meetings in the United States or pilgrimages to holy places in Calabria, seems to transform them, making them just as irresponsible as the Bacchantes of the older world." ⁴.

He makes the same comparison to the Bacchanalia concerning the people of South Italy who, "with staring eyes and mouths distorted in ecstasy" ⁵, fell under a similar spell: and notices the mixture of Christianity and fetish worship which made up negro worship, where, after religious services, they abandoned themselves to the Phallic dance at their Candombles. ⁶. He calls this "a state of excitation of the senses in which the mind ceases to work or works subservient to the nerves." ⁶.

With such discernment as de Maupassant shows in his tale "La Maison de Madame Tellier", Cunninghame Graham understands the thin line which may be drawn/

1. "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 111.

2. Ibid, pp. 119, 120.

3. Ibid, p. 45.

4. Ibid, p. 43.

5. "Writ on Sand", p. 110.

6. "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 41. cf. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", pp. 115, 6.

drawn between religious ecstasy and sexual abandonment. Like de Maupassant,^a he describes and passes on, counting the record itself a sufficient means of judgment. But we have no difficulty in distinguishing the double assertion he makes. He distrusts the stimulus to which people respond by throwing their minds to the wind.¹ He distrusts equally the rational approach, which would extract the wonder and elusiveness from life.² Life for him was to be taken lustily, yet reverently. It had the unfathomableness of a good, gay woman who, when her being is not made simply subsidiary to one's own, continually eludes and delights, who harbours in her soul the inexhaustible multitudinous fire of cut diamond.

Had religion any part in life?

"Courage, prudence and unalterable kindness", he describes as the things which count for most in life. But, then, he thinks religion a barrier against these, not their source. He is prepared to state a preference between religious attitudes:

"With us, religion is a personal thing, we take it, according to our individual temperament, in many different ways. Some, not the highest minds, look on it as a sort of mumbo-jumbo whereby to save their souls. Others, again, regard it as a means whereby life is ennobled, death's terror exorcised and the world improved."³

He approves the second alternative. But would he really prefer to dispense with both?

Religion, I believe, in the end appears to Cunninghame Graham to offer no way out. In the end one had to deal, with integrity, with life as it/

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1. "Bowing the knee and huddling the mind into a nutshell", he calls it in "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 101.
 2. He prefers people who do not try to square the circle of the globe, as he says in his Preface to "Down the Orinoco in a Canoe" by S. Perez Triana.
 3. "A Brazilian Mystic" p. 2.

it presented itself to one, and shrug one's shoulders at questions too baffling to gain an answer from mere, limited man:

"All principles to which men turn for assistance in their struggle with their lives seem greatly fallacious. Faith often leads straight to fanaticism, and to a disregard for works, plunging its votaries into an abyss of self-absorption, leaving their brethren starving in the mire whilst the believer saved his miserable soul. Good works, pursued for their own sake alone, induce arrogance and a self-satisfaction which shrivels up the soul.....

When faith and works, philosophy, logic and the rest of the panaceas that have been preached, accepted and been found wanting during the past two thousand years or so, have failed, all that is left to reasonable men is to pay bootmaker's and tailor's bills with regularity, give alms to the deserving and undeserving poor, and then live humbly underneath the sun, taking example by other animals."¹.

This mixture of agnosticism and integrity, I believe, reflects his true mind.

"I can think of no secular writer who was more constantly and sensitively pre-occupied with the rights and wrongs of human behaviour than Graham", says Paul Bloomfield². Yet for all his acute insights religion remained to him a complete enigma.

1. "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 84.

2. "The Essential R.B. Cunningham Graham", Introduction p. 21.

b. Religious Responses.

Cunninghame Graham reverts, here and there in his works, to judgments on responses of men in life which bear a specifically religious character. The chief of those which command his attention are assurance, faith, prayer and penitence.

Religious assurance appears to him most often as self-assurance, - as a way of arrogating status to oneself from the ground of security which is unassailable. Scotsmen especially have this as a characteristic vice. They "....have no doubt on any subject, either in heaven above or in the earth below".¹ The "sour-faced North British dogmatist"² is one of

"a race of men who knew no shadows, either in life or in belief. If they believed, they held each letter of "the Book" inspired, and would have burned the man who sought to change a comma or a semi-colon...."³.

He gives no approval to such narrow-minded certainty. But the basis of this assurance, predestination, he describes with comical awareness and sympathy in one of his Prefaces:

"We Caledonians who took our faith from Hippo (name o' yer Peters, gie me Paul), perhaps stand up against the stabs of Fate better than those nurtured in the most damnable doctrine of free-will. Once allow it and life becomes a drunken whirligig on which sit grave and reverent citizens playing on penny whistles, all attired in black."⁴.

He regrets a dogmatism in politics which he describes as the intruded legacy of "...the spirit of the deceased damners" of a religion of earlier days.⁵

Faith appears to him in two guides.

(a)/

1. "Thirteen Stories" p. 9.
2. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 60.
3. "Hope", p. 65.
4. "Preface to "Queens of Old Spain" by Martin Hume.
5. Article on "Odium Theologicum" in "The People's Press" Dec. 13th., 1890.

(a) It is one yoking of the human spirit to life, a dimension of human experience, allergic to reason and enquiry,¹ with which some are endowed at birth and of which others are deprived. It is a capacity of perceiving what is seen by others yet not perceived. The words of a Sherif may most appropriately illustrate what he meant. He speaks to a Westerner:

"Ships, aeroplanes, cannons of monstrous size, and little instruments by which you see minutest specks as if they were great rocks; all these you have, and yet you doubt his power... To us he has vouchsafed gifts which he either has withheld from you, or that you have neglected in your pride.

Thus we still keep our faith.... Faith in the God who sets the planets in their courses, bridled the tides, and caused the palm to grow beside the river so that the traveller may rest beneath the shade, and resting praise his name."²

In the same category he classes the deliverance experienced by a Spanish fleet sailing to South America, when a cricket's singing woke the watch in time to save the ships from disaster: "miracles take place in hundreds hourly that are never chronicled."³ Elsewhere he speaks of instances of faith "fit to remove the highest of all mountains, reason, from her foundations,"⁴ of a faith made "impervious to reason" by being soundly whipped inⁱⁿ infancy,⁵ and of a faith which surmounts "all the puny hills of commonsense."⁶ Faith is not a constituent element of any reasonable human life. Two very significant things are said in the Preface to the 1907 edition of his wife's magnum opus:

"Faith, as I take it, cannot be compassed, but either comes into existence with us at our birth, or else we never find it..."

and

"...love/

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1. He speaks ironically of his holding the dogmas of our faith in entirety "neither enquiring into what they mean, nor reasoning upon their nature, for fear of heresy: "Preface to "John Lavery and his Work" by Walter Shaw Sparrow.
 2. "Brought Forward", p. 160.
 3. "The Conquest of the River Plate" p.114.
 4. "Pedro de Valdivia", pp. 37, 38.
 5. A Comparison made with the "Hedge School" of education in "Jose Antonio Paéz", p. 2.
 6. "Pedro de Valdivia", Preface.

"...love, I take it, at the day when each receives his reward, will outworth faith a hundredfold."¹

Love is the quality open to all, and the self-abnegation of love "the true spirituality"¹.

Faith bereft of real concern for others he cannot away with, revelling as he does in the humanity and realism of Spanish mysticism, and frowning upon those whose faith has no outlet in good deeds.² Yet when good deeds are evidenced, they should issue naturally from faith or they become "materialistic and soul-numbing" claims on heaven.³

I find quite amazing the humility of Cunninghame Graham before any honest, single-minded manifestation of faith, which he himself could not share. He is as sensitive to what is real and genuine in other people's responses as he is firm in his own profession of agnosticism. If we call him an agnostic we must also remember he had that humility by which the blind in the end receive sight. He writes:

"It may be that all of us are kings born blind, and that the guiding star is shining brightly in the sky, whilst we sit sightless, with our dim orbits fixed upon the mud."⁴

(b) It was to be understood in one way as sheer human credulity. So he speaks of the Spaniards' belief that Santiago had appeared on a white horse to assist them in battle ("...portents and signs have appeared to those who looked for them - upon the winning side."⁵); and of belief in the existence of miraculous springs which restored one's youth ("...the presence of a misbeliever is often fatal to the materialisation..." as at a seance⁶!)

He/

1. Preface to "Santa Teresa" by Gabrielle Cunninghame Graham.

2. See "Hernando de Soto", Preface viii; and "The Conquest of New Granada", p. 5.

3. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 150.

4. "Faith", p. 131.

5. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu" p. 80.

6. Ibid, p. 76.

He is never sure of the ecstasy of faith into which some Spaniards easily seem to fall. Is it faith? It "...may be brought about by faith, or yet again may come from a mind not occupied with other things."¹ Of a peasant at Burgos Cathedral he writes:

"Perhaps, with the interior vision, he had seen the Crucifixion, and had felt and suffered with his Lord. Again, it may be that he had felt nothing, and been but hypnotised by gazing on the Christ."²

How can man, who looketh on the outward appearance, tell where faith ends and something of much less substance moves credulous humanity? Cunninghame Graham always distinguished belief, by which he meant assent to dogmas, from faith.

Prayer, as he sees it, is a human activity. A sense of proportion prompts him to this conclusion, when he judges a staunch horse of more value than "all the prayers of all the good men of the world" when danger threatened on the Southern Pampa³; or when he speaks of lands where men pray "naturally as birds" and yet are not at all influenced in their life by their prayer.⁴ Yet this is also an absolute judgment. The Lord of Hosts cannot give the factionaries of different sides what they want in battle.⁴ God cannot possibly intervene, take sides, show favouritism in human life.⁵ Of one poor woman, soon to be bereaved, he writes:

"...the poor Vestal must have wearied heaven by her entreaties; but even heaven is impotent in cases of that sort, though prayer, no doubt, is useful to the man who prays."⁶

So/

1. "Progress", p. 278.
3. "A Hatchment", p. 19.
5. "Progress", p. 165.

2. "His People", p. 54.
4. "Hernando de Soto" p. 204.
6. Ibid, p. 281.

So he calls this purely human activity "...that smoke the human mind gives off under the fires of cares"¹. and writes of an Indian praying:

"Prayer is to the soul what most divine tobacco is to the senses, deadening and comforting. For after all it is but giving up oneself to one-self, and waiting dumbly for something that may come from nothing, or again may never come." ².

For penitence he reserves his unqualified contempt. It is nothing but a cowardly attempt to escape the consequences of one's actions. Whatever these might be, they ought to be faced bravely and without regrets. This is the only manly thing to do:

"How much more dignified than some cold-hearted scoundrel who, as solicitor, banker or confidential agent, swindles for years, and in the dock recants, and calls upon his God to pardon him"³.

Regarding one penitent he points out that men can die as easily as they live, with lies upon their lips.³ Penitence is a way of becoming apostate to oneself. In the description of the statue of a Moorish convert to Christianity he speaks of "...the stain of being a traitor to the faith in which he had been bred",⁴ and expands elsewhere where he notes the inclination when warnings of age and weakness are felt:

"...forsake your former naughty life, and straight turn traitor on your friends, ideas, beliefs and prejudices, and stand confessed apostate to yourself. For the mere bettering of your spiritual fortunes leaves you a turncoat still. It is mean, unreasonable, and shows a caitiff spirit or impaired intellect in the poor penitent who, to save his soul, denies his life."⁵.

Saving one's soul by denying one's life is the characteristic feature to/

1. Ibid, p. 165.
3. "Success", p. 171.
4. "Faith", p. 233.
5. "Success", p. 170.

2. Preface to "Adventures in Bolivia"
by C.H. Progers.

to him of penitence. So he applauds Montezuma's refusal to change from his faith "(whatever that faith was)"¹. and regrets that the Wolfe of Badenoch recanted from his sins and "died a sad good Christian at the heart"²: On three occasions he calls repentance a moral fire insurance of which one hopes to be the beneficiary without having attended to the important matter of sending in the yearly premiums:³. In one of these he expresses exactly his mind:

"Repentance, retrospection and remorse, the furies which beset mankind, making them sure of nothing, conscious of actions, feeling that they are eternal, and that no miracle can wipe them out. They know they forge and carry their own hell about with them, too weak to sin and fear not, and too irrational not to think a minute of repentance can blot out the actions of a life."⁴.

I find only one occasion when he speaks of forgiveness as a significant act. It relates to the Conquistadores. He says we, who had not their excuse, should forget their crimes and ask forgiveness for our modern sins.⁵ But this is a departure from his characteristic attitude, which is better expressed by the assertion that "...time and toleration are the only solvents nature has placed at our disposal".⁶.

He makes a point, on several occasions, of defending the impenitent thief upon the cross:

"At any rate, one of the two died game.
Passion O' me, I hate your penitents,"⁷. he concludes,

reversing/

1. "Bernal Diaz del Castillo", p. 126.

2. Preface to "The Wolfe of Badenoch" by Thos. Dick Lauder.

3. "Hernando de Soto", p. 268; "A Brazilian Mystic", p. 110;

"Success", p. 174.

4. "Success", pp. 173, 4. 5. "Bernal Diaz del Castillo", Preface xi.

6. "Redeemed", p. 10. Cf. "Doughty Deeds", p. 130.

7. "Success", p. 169.

reversing the customary judgment. "...sa sympathie fut toujours plus grande pour un pecheur endurci que pour un Calviniste penitent. Il n'aimait ni les renegats, ni les repentis".¹ It is a true observation .

Two things seem clear to me from such a view of penitence.

He found the act a selfish, skin-saving one, encouraged by a church which seemed to concentrate on rewards in a future life and urge men to seek them as a matter of enlightened self-interest.

He never really came to grips with the Christian conception of forgiveness, which is free of cowardice and enlightened self-interest - which sees the debts of others as insignificant, easily cancelled, in the light of one's immense debt to God: which sees the world's hope in a changed relationship, a reconciliation with all things, which God has effected through Christ.

1. "Don Roberto, Coureur D'Aventures", p. 288 of the extract.

(c) The Great Unknown - Death.

Over Gabrielle's grave these words are written, at her husband's instance: "Los Muertes Abren Los Ojos A Los Que Viven" - the dead open the eyes of the living. Here is mystery. Investigation has disclosed no traditional rendering to fix the meaning. Does he intend "The dead are a reminder that we had better get on with the business of living - we will not live forever"? - is this another form of Hezekiah's: "For the grave cannot praise thee, death can not celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth"? It could mean, on the other hand, that Gabrielle and others like her had given insight which was still instructing and inspiring the living - that they, being dead, were yet speaking. Yet again, these could be words of a larger hope. They immediately call to mind the opposite, customary practice - that of the living closing the eyes of the dead. May it not be that the dead are more alive than the living, and are at their right hand? By this kindly final act, we, as it were, write off our dead: may it not be that we ourselves would be written off, but for the dead?

Cunninghame Graham's works would suggest he thinks all of these thoughts.

He meditated much upon death, not in any morbid way, but with the realism of a man prepared to face facts. He liked to smoke a cigarette and give himself over to contemplation at Gabrielle's grave: this was his nearest approach to prayer. Admiral Sir Angus Cunninghame/

Cunninghame Graham has recorded in conversation his liking for attending every available funeral. He himself speaks of the good which comes from drives in funeral carriages, with the time they afford to wait attentively before the solemn fact of death.¹

Much of what he wrote suggests: "While there's life, there's hope: but death is the end." His famous story "Beattock to Moffat" which contrasts the avoidance of the very thought of death, in case of ill omen, on the part of the English wife, with the matter-of-fact arrangements made for it by her dying Scots husband²; underlines his readiness to face the logic of this.³ But the logic is bitter. When the hope of men is entrusted to "the possibly fallacious trumpet call",⁴ when all appearances run counter to words of promise, thus:

"Then he committed to the earth the dead man's body, certain as he averred, both of the resurrection and the life to come, and on the coffin fell the gritty soil, as if it mocked him by its blackness and its uncompromising grime."⁵

the loss makes life irreparably dark.

"In our drab-coloured world when a personality disappears, it is as if, in sailing up the estuary of life, one of the fairways were suddenly put out. One has to grope one's way back to the wheelhouse and steer on, even more blindly than before."⁶

It seems "an impertinence of fate"⁷. Death from natural causes?

"Nothing is more unjust than is a natural cause."⁸ The hurt was especially hard to bear when the immortal Conrad put on mortality.

Yet, writing in "Inveni Portam," he pictures gulls bringing Conrad/

1. "Redeemed", p. 165.

2. "Success", p. 149.

3. Other instances of the idea that death can be kept at bay by ignoring it are recorded in "Thirteen Stories" p. 186; "Faith", p. 82.

4. "Progress", p. 284. Cf. "Brought Forward", p. 58.

5. Ibid, p. 197.

6. Obituary of Lt. Col. Sir Henry Arthur Fletcher, published Dec. 28th., 1925 preserved in a Scrap Book.

7. Preface to "True Stories of the Past" by Martin Hume.

8. Preface to "Queens of Old Spain," by Martin Hume.

Conrad in his grave tidings of the sea¹: Again and again he reverts in his books to the idea of some link which binds the dead in their graves still to life and to one another. He liked the graveyards of Morocco, which men traversed on foot and on horseback - the presence of the living kept the dead from feeling lonely.² They may, after all "perceive, with some new sense unknown to those who labour in the flesh, all that is passing..."³ It is as if he affirmed the Communion of Saints but gave it a local, earthly habitation.

The dead at times are more actively implicated in life, to his way of thinking. All that they did and were "compasses us about in subtle atmosphere."⁴ Past occupants still preside over houses, which others inhabit (I believe he specially had this sense at Gartmore).⁵ The land is possessed only by their favour.⁶ In Rome he is overwhelmed with this feeling. He writes:

"The living seem to have been effaced and to have given place, as in fact they always must, to those who have become the real owners of the soil by mingling with it after death."⁷

Do the dead rise? Not to a Christian Heaven. What that implied to him is indicated when he muses on W.H. Hudson's death:

"Heaven, I know, would be too circumscribed and too conventional to make him happy, though he would listen with delight to the soft flutter of the angel's wings."⁸

To/

1. Reproduced also in "Redeemed", p. 171.

2. "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu", p. 233.

3. "Redeemed" p. 68.

4. Obituary on Dr. John Macintyre "Glasgow Medical Journal", Dec. 1928.

5. "Charity", p. 136.

6. "Hope", p. 63.

7. "Faith" p. 160.

8. "The Horses of the Conquest" Preface, p. x.

To some genuine freedom, he hopes. In one place he likens our lives to that of a butterfly in an inverted glass bowl. Life imprisons us - we discern wider horizons through the glass.^{1.} In another he muses thus on the dead:

"....is it really that I myself have gone, and they live on, deep down in the recesses of some fairy hill of which I am not free?"^{2.}

But ever and again it is to Trapalanda that he turns, the Heaven of the Indians, where water is plentiful grass is sweet, and man can hunt on horseback with no ache between his shoulder blades.^{3.} The nearest earth offered to heaven he found on the Pampas; "...if heaven is heaven, it must be surely what we have loved on earth, a little sublimated," he argues.^{4.} Trapalanda is mentioned more and more towards the end of his life. In the later allusions there is a change of emphasis. He is less concerned to lay down conditions (of "Trooties" imagined Paradise, he had written "if it is not so, a plague on paradise"^{5.}); and he speaks more in hope than in mere longing.

Death puzzled and deprived him, but the reservation and detachment which formed one of his characteristic fronts to life prevented it from distressing him. Any Christian critique of his attitude must take account of the Biblical way in which he confronted its finality, and measured the utter inadequacy of human resources to deal with it; and too, of his utter failure to think of resurrection in/

1. "Faith", Preface, p.xv. Cf. "A Hatchment", p. 143, where death suggests to him clearer sight.

2. "His People", p. 219.

3. "Redeemed", p. 80, "Cartagena and the Banks of the Sinu" p. 219 and passim.

4. "Redeemed", p. 10.

5. "Notes on the District of Menteith", Preface to 3rd. edition.

in relation to Christ's resurrection ("...now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept"). Allowance must be made for the fact that it was an escapist, compensating Heaven, empty of judgment on the tenor of man's life, which he found preached by the churches.

What was left was to strive and hope, to live this life with integrity and leave its sequel uncomprehended:

"The promised land is always just ahead of us...Heaven itself is far away, so placed, no doubt, by theologians and the wise fathers of the Church, who indeed made the path difficult and the wicket straight, so that the few who have passed in shall not return to tell us if indeed all is as we have been encouraged to believe."1.

1. "The Conquest of the River Plate", p. 108.

IV. PROPHETIC CRITICISM OF CONTEMPORANEITY.

An author may criticise the accepted standards and conventions of his time out of pique, from affectation, with a desire for the limelight and the reputation of being daring - from many unworthy motives. When we find an author who is able to look at his own nation and generation and by a movement of the imagination shuffle off the coil of his contemporaneity and speak as if he belonged to another race and age; when that author yet identifies himself with his people, bearing the burden of their impoverished perspective; when he cuts to the quick; and when his measuring-rod is unqualified righteousness: then may we justly call his criticism prophetic.

Throughout this thesis we have seen the prophetic insight of Cunninghame Graham exemplified in large challenges offered to social and religious custom. We are left with the need for a gathering chapter to focus attention on matters which have not been noted, or which have been inadequately noted, on which he called society to account in the name of truth and right.

Rank and Position. Who would be in a stronger position to prick the bubble of social pretension than a landowning Scottish laird, the claimant to a dormant earldom, a figure at the court of Queen Victoria, a descendant of Scottish kings? I have noted only one occasion on which it has been suggested he coveted titles himself. In a review of "The Essential Cunninghame Graham" dated December 14th., 1952, inserted/

inserted in a Press Clippings Book in Dartmouth College Library, Harold Nicholson asserts he "spent much time and money striving to revive in his own favour a dormant Scottish earldom." Family tradition meant much to him. Should this contention be true, it is more likely that it was the living past which he wished to weave into the present, than that he cherished larger social ambitions. But the words he wrote in a letter to his mother fit better his outlook: "I care little about the Menteith peerage, as long as no one else gets it." (Than such a manner of life:). . . . I would rather share a handful of maize with my horse out on the plains."¹.

Cunninghame Graham carried off life with an aristocratic air and grace which was natural to him. But he believed it was something in the man which made a rank or a title fit, and the haphazard working of heredity, public opinion and royal favour rarely brought a happy coincidence of status and appropriate merit. Public honour and traditional rank had nothing to do with the case. No weight should be laid on them. ".... a title is but a word that stands between a man and his nobility", he says²: Of statues and titles bestowed in memory of his admired Bolivar, he writes elsewhere: "A retrospective honour is after all, that which does least damage to the receiver of it, for being dead, only the givers of it bear the ridicule."³. He questions whether a king exists who is not made ridiculous/

1. Quoted in Tschiffely's "Tornado Cavalier", p. 59.
2. "Bernal Diaz del Castillo" p. 227, Footnote.
3. "Jose Antonio Paez," p. 265.

ridiculous by the very nature of his office.¹ Our fallible methods of bestowing recognition conceal from men the qualities which make for genuine eminence. "Most commonly the world forgets or never knows its greatest men",² he declares. In a way which must now be familiar to us, he lays this at the door of our inherently idolatrous nature, condemning the adoration of:

"Rank, wealth and state, science and progress and all the gods that we have made and worship, and to whom we call in our necessity, oblivious they are all our own creation."³

True human stature he finds in simple, unpretentious folk, such as the old woman of whom he writes:

"Still there was something spiritual in her face, as if the world and all its trials, toils, and disappointments, and the cares of a large family had left no mark upon her soul, and as if the wrinkles on her brow were but the work of Time, and went no deeper than the skin."⁴

Success. Throughout his works we find evidence of Cunninghame Graham's preoccupation with the re-evaluation of success and failure in life. Generally, it appears to him, people:

"....look upon failure as a sort of minor crime, to be atoned for by humility, and to be reprobated, after the fashion of adultery, with a half-deprecating laugh."⁵

In magnifying success men revel in hollow achievement. It all forms part of the sham of life. In the early pages of his book "Success", he concentrates his fire-power:

"We/

1. "Mirages", Preface p. xi.

2. "A Vanished Arcadia" p. 85. So in "Hope" p. 217.

3. "Hope", p. 80.

4. Ibid, p. 6; cf. p. 97; "Success" p. 57, and "Mirages", p. 81.

5. "Thirteen Stories" p. 51.

"We applaud the successful folk and straight forget them, as we do ballet-dancers, actors and orators. They strut their little hour, and then are relegated to peerages, to baronetcies, to books of landed gentry and the like."¹.

"Poverty many can endure with dignity. Success, how few can carry off, even with decency and without baring their innermost infirmities before the public's gaze."¹.

He speaks of "the odium of success," its reduction to "piecework at so many pounds an hour" of genuinely noble effort, its relationship to arrogance and patronage of others.¹. But it is ⁱⁿ another book that he most effectively expresses this continual concern and criticism, thus:

"The praise of men, the pettiness of greatness, and the attachment to the thousand nothings which ensure success, so cramp man that he is left without the leisure to enjoy his life.

Your true Nirvana can only be attained by those who, in the sum, the tides, the phases of the moon and the miracle of birds and flowers, green leaf and then dry boughs again, find happiness, and pass their lives in thinking without bitterness on that which might have been.....in every case the touchstone is the apparent failure of their lives."².

He ~~honours~~ those who fail after a glorious fashion - Raleigh, Cervantes, Chatterton, Camoens, Blake, Claverhouse, Lovelace, Alcibiades, Parnell, and the last unknown deckhand who loses his life in the vain attempt to save a drowning comrade.³. He appreciates sturdy failure.⁴. But he also keeps a corner of the heart for those who have nothing noble or commendable about their failure - who just fail.⁵.

Spain represented to him a nation which had had no success in life, and so had retained its soul.⁶. Adverse fortune, the neglect of men, deprivation of material rewards - these, he would seem to say, keep men's minds on the/

1. pp. 1, 2 and 7 and 8 of the book.

2. "Progress", p. 119.

3. "Thirteen Stories", p. 6.

4. "Father Archangel of Scotland", p. 27.

5. "Success", p. 8.

6. "See Thirteen Stories", pp. 214-216.

the simple things which matter in life. Thus:

"If it is true that only simple folk should be the real inheritors of the earth, it may be said that those who fail possess it presently."¹.

On this subject he sets his face obstinately against the common tenor of life. He will not equate public recognition, or achievement in terms of accepted standards, with true accomplishment. He will not have the unsuccessful disregarded, as if no enrichment of society could be expected from them. But we must set a question mark against his conclusion. If failure is made absolute - if it is never to be justified in terms of the total purpose of life, if it is never given some final vindication - is it not as vain as success? Cunninghame Graham nowhere gives any indication that had grounds to validate his choice: his was simply an intuitive judgement, a reaction against what he saw falsely adored and set on high.

Cant and Morals.

The Victorian and Edwardian ages seemed to Cunninghame Graham to concentrate on the veneer of life, to pay chief homage to appearances. "It seems of all the forces which move mankind humbug is the strongest,"² he writes, and the word is a word of anathema to him. The bourgeois mind was stuffed with it:

"Above all things the bourgeois mind hates plain speaking....Swindling becomes embezzlement. He ³.
is/

1. "Progress" p. 119.

2. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 91.

3. i.e., the bourgeois.

is the man who sits unmoved at the most disgusting details of the fashionable divorce case, and then goes out and sticks a fig leaf on a stucco statue.... sanding his sugar in a grocer's shop of a weekday, and howling psalms in a conventicle on what he calls the Sabbath."¹.

He prefers the Georgians to men of "...our own days, when at the same time a pious profiteer makes a large fortune and talks of the mission of the Anglo-Saxon race."². They were open and forthright, for all their faults. The cant of the age contrasted strongly with his own openness and directness. In the introduction to his Bibliography, Leslie Chaundry says:

"Had he chosen to temper the hard facts of life which he ~~has~~ portrayed with a little leavening of improbable sentiment, his works might well have sold in really large numbers. He has been content to show us life exactly as he has seen it and as it really is; few know it better."

A contemporary said of him:

"He was no trimmer and had not set his sail to catch the breeze of any little party, or to vary his movements or his words to suit the particular eddies of the day or hour."³.

Hudson was one of many who thought he was far too contemptuous of the conventions and assumptions of his day.⁴.

What applied to politics and business, applied equally to sexual morality. Victorian life was not at all what it appeared to be on the surface. Cunninghame Graham had great sympathy for prostitutes, perceiving probably more acutely than those who criticised/

1. Article "Utopia" in "The People's Press", 11th. October 1890.

2. "Doughty Deeds", p. 57.

3. The chairman, Baillie Crawford, at a Liberal Demonstration in Coatbridge.

4. Letter written March 28th., 1900.

criticised him for falling over backwards in their protagonism, that they were both the victims of society and the critics of its deceit and respectable dullness. Victorian society played a game of "Let's pretend" to avert its eyes from their existence, although:

".....tramps and prostitutes have each their proper place in the Chinese puzzle of society, and it is possible, were they but removed, that institutions men deem honourable might find themselves without a place."¹.

Cunninghame Graham found that moral conventions varied in different ages and in different races.² He does not discriminate between them. But he does invariably state a preference for an unhypocritical attitude, as evidenced in gaucho life,³ and in Latin countries. A fresh breeze seemed to blow abroad, where:

"....morality was looked on in the larger or Latin way, with the result that on the whole life was far cleaner than in Anglo-Saxon lands, where, nature being what it is, the same things happen but are rendered meaner by concealment; the homage, as they say, that vice pays to virtue, but which makes virtue, as it were, compound a felony and smirches both of them."⁴.

Pretence he could not abide.

Status of Women.

We have already seen, under the heads of equality, in his Social Outlook, his support of women's claims for emancipation, and also his shrewd estimate of the contribution which they could give only through their womanhood, an influence which could exist when their status/

1. "Success", p. 112.

2. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 33; "The Conquest of New Granada", p. 247.

3. "Father Archangel of Scotland", p. 180.

4. "Success", p. 143.

status was low and could be abrogated when they had formal freedom. He seems to have published nothing but occasional observations, which serve to show him the champion of the underprivileged in this instance, without his mind catching alight to the subject. It was my very good fortune to be able to handle, in the Dartmouth College Library collection of his works an original, early, unpublished ms. entitled "The Real Equality of the Sexes". In it he declares that he has little interest in the struggle for the franchise "now going on". The movement is great and just - but the hope that the franchise will gain women social freedom is illusory, for so it has proved for men. He goes on:

"My real sympathy is with their social and economic position. Almost every institution, economic, social, political and religious (especially religious) is designed, or has become without design a means to keep them dependent upon men."

He argues that working class socialism would be a means of freedom for all - that women would share the benefit. He would have women earning money, with equal wages paid for equal work. He would change the legal position. "Once alter all the laws which set up property above human beings and women will be free, men also.".. The church is accused of having fought against equal status for men and women before the law for 1900 years. In the mediaeval church woman was unclean, the seducer: virginity was exalted: "Thus did the church degrade both sexes and constitute itself the universal brothelkeeper/

brothelkeeper of mankind." Sacramental marriage, at first the means of regulating natural affection, had become an instrument for the protection of property: so women were slaves. They needed economic freedom (through earning for themselves and obtaining legal equality) and sexual freedom - divorce should be made available at the will of both or either party to the marriage.

The lack of prophetic protest at the low status allowed to women on the part of the church, the self-interest shown, receives shrewd and just criticism. The remedies proposed seemed extravagant in his day: but, except for the extreme facility of divorce which he advocated (which the U.S.S.R. has proved a detrimental step) they get to the root of women's economic and sexual degradation.

Work. In the novels of Anthony Trollope a sure "audience reaction" is obtained wherever a character is described as undertaking lazily a work for which he has been paid. Victorians had the strain (justly, I think, ascribed to Puritanism) in their make-up which firmly adjudged work a good, an unqualified obligation.

Cunninghame Graham indicates sufficiently that he does not think work is an ill. When he writes of humble toilers he sees them as sustaining the fabric of the universe.¹ When he writes of the leisured class he reminds of "the obligation^{to} work, natural in itself/

1. As in "Progress", p. 141; cf. Ecclesiasticus ch. 38, vv. 27-34.

itself to existence."¹. But he does confront with full challenge the assumption that work is a self-justifying activity, one which should be continually setting its claim on men. Abroad, he had met a different attitude to work:

"In all Morocco no man can be found as foolish as to say he likes to work, far less to labour, except under the pressure of hunger or of his superiors."²

It was the graces of living he sought to preserve in face of the elevation of work as an unqualified good in Victorian and Edwardian society. His position, I think, is best expressed in a sketch in "The Ipane". Of Tangier he writes:

"I am glad that the chief industry is intermittent, leaving full time for meditation and for faith."³.

Work had to be seen in perspective. Work had to be put in perspective. It was human beings, it was life which mattered first and most. He distinguished only loss in the pressure put on men to make work the be-all and end-all of life in an industrial society.

He makes the common mistake of relating the necessity to work to the fall of man.⁴.

Patriotism and War.

Cunninghame Graham's attitude to war appears to be equivocal. It may be illustrated from his having spoken furiously on the iniquity of going to war in Trafalgar Square, on the brink of the/

1. Article "Notions", in "The People's Press", November 15th., 1890.

2. "Father Archangel of Scotland", p. 119.

3. p. 154.

4. "Thirteen Stories", pp. 44, 45.

the 1914-18 conflagration, and then, having attempted to join the services as a Rough Rider when war did break out. The contrast, I think, is that between an impending situation which one will try to avert, and a decision which has to be made in terms of realities. It was not pacifism but the conviction that the Boers had justice on their side, which made him oppose Britain's policy in an earlier instance.

"....the pomps and circumstances of foolish war"¹. saddened him. Its futility struck him forcibly.² He saw ordinary men as the dupes and sufferers, the population deluded by politicians,³ a ring of stockbrokers manipulating national policies for their own ends.⁴ It continually appears to him a contradiction that Christians should engage in war. His anger and hurt is expressed when he uses such phrases as "Christian carnival of blood" of Great War I.⁵ Futility, victimisation and violation of Christian principles are indicated in a scornful passage in "Redeemed" where he broods on an Alpine war. The mountain flowers represented the "deliverance" of the territory:

"They were all redeemed, and raised their eyes to heaven rejoicing that one national flag had been substituted for another, and that the world had made a step upon the road to perfection.

These brethren in the faith of Christ, who till the time that they first met in strife had been generally ignorant of each other's existence upon earth, had fought like wolves to redeem or to defend a territory, that most of them had never heard of in their lives."⁶

During/

1. "Mogreb-el-Acksa" p. 7. 2.e.g. "Success" p. 5.

3. "Jose Antonio Paez", p. 174.

4. Speaking on Lord Beaconsfield's policy in the Argyll Hall (Glasgow?). Cutting undated but early. Cf. "Success" p. 6.

5. "Jose Antonio Paez," p. 175. He says here that man's progress is in savagery.

6. pp. 174, 5.

During the 1914-18 war, Cunninghame Graham surveyed South American resources and even shipped his beloved horses to slaughter in the "Carnival of blood". He seems to me to affirm that men need to discriminate, look into causes, be free agents, and only take part in war if heart and head go together.

He was a real British and Scottish patriot. When, in an article in "The People's Press" entitled "Patriotism",¹ his whole theme is compassed in the words, "Patriotism is a swindle and a lie. The brotherhood of man is worth a dozen of it," his great concern is to give warning. As long as this country is a prison yard for workers, as long as patriotism is the fake the sweater firm traffics in to expand markets and reduce wages, it should be treated as a deluding catchword. He confronted the jingoism of the 1880-90s with whole-hearted opposition.

Imperialism.

Cunninghame Graham believed that a country's patriots were those who were to the fore not only in appreciation of its life and defence of its interests, but in criticism, - who stood as watchmen for its soul. Patriotism was a concomitant in his mind of internationalism. Each country had its demerits and its gifts. To him imperialism meant the assertion of one nation's power and manner of life over others, without the imposed tradition compensating natives for the loss of their tradition, freedom and natural resources. We have already noted his attitude to some extent when discussing his/

1. September 26th., 1890.

his assessment of civilization.

An election address of 1885¹. reveals the outlook which he held consistently all through his life. He stated then:

"I am opposed to an aggressive foreign policy, and am of the opinion that the interests as well as the dignity of the country will be better secured by exhibiting a consistent regard to the just rights of other nations than by any assertion of lordly domination."

His early approval of Liberalism is partly accounted for by the conviction he then possessed that it sought to extend to the ends of the earth the blessings of civilization. The Tories, contra, eased the passage of the speculator, and the ambitious soldier and diplomat.²

These are the charges he laid against imperialism:

a. It showed disregard for the lives of precious peoples. The Imperialist had a different moral code for dealing with natives, and was merciless.³

b. It showed disregard for previous customs and civilizations which would have added to the treasury of mankind:

"The world might have seen great India kingdoms in Peru and Mexico gradually inducted into European ideas, but with their own strange customs and religions still preserved."⁴

The English settler blindly set up his "Anglo-Saxon Eden" wherever he went.⁵

c. It showed disregard for human rights. Of Spilsbury's venture in the Sus, he writes:

"Englandd/

1. News cutting inserted in a Scrap Book.
2. Speech at Winchester on March 10th., 1887, preserved in a Scrap Book.
3. "An Imperial Kailyard", pp.5, 6; "Progress", pp.10,40; "Pedro de Valdivia" p. 32.
4. "The Conquest of New Granada" p. 121.
5. "Thirteen Stories", p. 166.

"....England, once committed to interference in any country (said to be rich), must of necessity remain to restore order, introduce good government, and generally to further the cause of progress and mortality, which is specially her aim in every country peopled by an inferior race."¹.

d. It was sheer blatant robbery. "Our civilization and commerce are murder and theft at home and murder and theft abroad."². We covered over the ugly fact that we had stolen land by talking of the "rebellion" of the natives, and describing their resistance as "massacre" of whites.³.

The association of religion and imperialism is ever to the forefront of Cunninghame Graham's mind. They were intertwined in a single impulse: ".....we push the gospel truths, extend our trade, and bring the balance of the world under the shadow of our glorious flag".⁴. Christians seemed as unaware of their sins of omission and commission in regard to existing imperialism, as were the Conquistadores to whose victims "the name of Christian meant robber, murderer and intruder on their lands."⁵. They allowed native custom and cohesion to be disrupted, and self-seeking policies to take their ruthless course. Only occasionally is a contrary view stated, and then almost solely of Jesuits and Franciscans in South America, who stood between the natives and the colonists.⁶.

Where British influence and arms have penetrated he is not in favour of immediate withdrawal, which might bring chaos. He would stop/

1. "Mogreb-el-Acksa", p. 319. Cf. Preface to "The Truth about Morocco", by M. Aflals where he defends native rights.

2. Editor of "The People's Press," on Stanley and Barthelot's misdeeds: cf. "Hernando de Soto", Preface p. xii.

3. "Hernando de Soto", Preface pp. ix, x, p. 245; "Bernall Diaz del Castillo" pp. 94, 96. Footnote.

4. "The Ipane", p. 123. 5. "Success", p. 13.

6. "The Conquest of the River Plate", pp. 115, 178.

stop annexation, and see that laws in colonies suited the natives and encouraged their own form of life.¹ At the end of "Mogreb-el-Acksa" he would seem to prefer (in what is a piece of confusing reasoning) British to any other imperialism, if choice has to be made between undesirables.²

He recognises the mixed motives with which men set out on their filibustering expeditions against other races and concludes: "All, no doubt, thought they were serving God, for all men make their God in their own image."³ We are back on familiar ground. The implication runs through his reasoning like sinews, that imperialism is a slur on the very God whom the imperialist acknowledges in word, Who for His own purposes created different races and endowed them differently. In castigating scorn Cunninghame Graham lashes this self-directed idolatry:

"The world, it would appear, is a vast classroom, and its creator but a professor of political economy, apparently unable to carry out his theories with effect. Therefore to us, the Western Europeans, he hastened for help, and upon us devolved the task of extirpating all those peoples on whom he tried his 'prentice hand. On us he laid injunctions to increase at home, and to the happier portions of the world to carry death under the guise of life unsuitable to those into whose lands we spread."⁴

"....the heaven it tries vainly to deceive,"⁵ offers mute condemnation.

Racial Superiority.

For uncompromising, penetrating criticism of imperialism few/

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1. An early address at Shettleston, as a political candidate.
 2. p. 270; so in "The Imperial Kailyard", p. 9.
 3. "Bernal Diaz del Castillo", p. 247.
 4. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 286½
 5. "Hernando de Soto", Preface, p. vii.

few statements can match Cunninghame Graham's rare pamphlet "The Imperial Kailyard", from which we have quoted in the preceding pages. For the rending of the idea of a master race, will anything, I wonder, ever be written to match his sketch "Niggers", published in "The Ipane ."

It is with preternatural weight of scorn that he deals with that assumption of superiority which is grounded in interest and prejudice,¹ and is expressed in "the Englishman's Jove-like attitude."²

"Now, to the Briton, patronage is to the full as precious as to be on the visiting list of a rich peer. We like to go abroad diffusing, as it were, light, might, and majesty on every side of us."³

Nations must be wrong-headed if they do not think of things as we do.⁴ Yet, he says, in the full flood of irony, "it might have been wise to leave other types, if only to remind us of our superiority."⁵

Other races are treated as the Indians were by the conquistadores as "gente sin razon". From contemporary documents Cunninghame Graham quotes throughout his histories to show their leaders, in fact "...refined, intelligent, and far more reasonable in controversy than were their conquerors."⁶ He frequently brings theological argument to bear in such terms as these:

"to the pious I put this question, If, as I suppose, these men had souls quite as immortal as your own, might it not have been better to preserve their bodies, those earthly envelopes without which no soul can live."⁷

It/

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1. E.g., in Preface to "Down in Orinoco in a Cause", by S. Perez Triana.
 2. Preface to "Head-Hunters of the Amazon", by Up de Graff. He condemns equally the U.S.A.'s "Good American" pattern for mankind. Cf. "His People" p. 242.
 3. Preface to "Companions in the Sierra" by Chas. Rudy.
 4. Preface to "Father Archangel of Scotland".
 5. "A Vanished Arcadia", p. 230.
 6. "The Conquest of New Granada", Preface p. x.
 7. "Thirteen Stories", p. 57.

It would be just to finish this whole section with comprehensive quotation from the sketch "Niggers", which in Edward Garnett's judgment, gives the keynote of Cunninghame Graham's genius, outlook and attitude to his fellows. He seems only half aware of it that his argument is based on radical theological grounds. Yet arrogance, - political, economic, social, racial, - keeps immediately relating itself in his mind to "man's first disobedience," to the usurping of God's rightful place in life. Here we see in his thinking the contradiction to that other expression of it where God is described as remote from men's affairs. Where God is made the tool of man's interests, God is not mocked.

"Jahve created all things, especially the world in which we live, and which is really the centre of the Universe, in the same way as England is the centre of the planet...

That the first man in the fair garden by the Euphrates was white, I think we take for granted. True, we have no information on the subject, but in this matter of creation we have entered, so to speak, into a tacit compact with the creator, and it behoves us to concur with him and help him when a difficulty looms.

I take it that Jahve was little taken up with any of his creatures, except the people who inhabited the countries from which the Aryans came. (Other races)....were no doubt useful. (Of the Englishman) Much of the earth was his, and in the skies he had his mansion ready, well-aired... islands, useful as coaling stations and depots where to stack his bibles for diffusion among the heathen....No individual of their various nationalities by a whole life of grace was ever half so moral as the worst of us is born.

We are his people, and it is natural that he should give mankind into our hand. But yet it seemed that we had grown as godlike in ourselves that perhaps Jahve was waiting for us to indicate the way.

Oh/

Oh, Africa land created out of sheer spleen...

The Ethiopian cannot change his skin, and therefore we are ready to possess his land and uproot him for the general welfare of mankind.

....Niggers who have no cannons have no rights.
(Their land, cattle, possessions ours; their women:)
....ours to infect with syphilis, leave with child, outrage, torment, and make by contact with the vilest of our vile, more vile than beasts.

England's great heart is sound, it beats for all the sorrows of mankind; we must press on, we owe it to ourselves and to our God;.....in case inferior, apeing nations may forestall us, cut in between us and all those we burn to serve, and having done so then shoot out their tongues and say "These were but weaklings, and their God made in their image, merely an Anglo-Saxon and anthropomorphous fool."¹.

The words England, English are not words of escape. He makes it clear that his condemnation refers to the "feelings of sublime contentment with ourselves," which characterises the whole "Celts-Saxon" race."².

"Niggers" was published in 1899.

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1. "Niggers" in "The Ipane", pp. 237-256; extracts.
 2. "His People", p. 242.

BRIEF EVALUATION OF RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK.

If we have to classify Cunninghame Graham's religious outlook according to his explicit statements on the matter, we must call him a reverent agnostic. But we slip too easily from our shoulders the theological challenge of his life, if we leave him thus.

Does this not fit him?:

"Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye people, from far; The Lord hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name.

And he hath made my mouth like a sharp sword; in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me, and made me a polished shaft; in his quiver hath he hid me...."¹.

Is there not found in him a likeness to that Son of Man, out of whose mouth went a two-edged sword?². What does his utterance bring to mind if not the sword of the Spirit, the word of God,³ whose penetration is decisive:

"For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow...."⁴.

I would offer the following assessment of his religious outlook.

To Cunninghame Graham the Father seemed too removed from life to be offered more than acknowledgment. Yet men had to be castigated for the encroachment of human pride on His sole dignity and/

1. Isaiah, ch. 49, vv. 1, 2.
3. Ephesians, ch. 6, v. 17.

2. Revelation, ch. 1, v. 16.
4. Hebrews, ch. 4, v. 12.

and majesty. Jesus Christ was the ideal of all life, a phenomenon. He was in the end but a subject for meditation and longing. The Holy Spirit, whom dull human eyes, Cunninghame Graham once said, perceived only as a white dove, is scarcely mentioned. Yet to Him, teaching truth, unmasking sham, claiming an unqualified offering of life, he was alert and obedient. In grace, compassion and indignation of life, Cunninghame Graham was a knight of the Holy Spirit.

In every age the church has its blind spots, especially a divided church which is denied the corrective influence afforded by fellowships in different lands which are under different pressures. The younger churches have contributed much in our day to the social thinking of the church as a whole. They had been the deprived ones. They knew. The church in this century has been brought thus to a fresh understanding of the gospel. The Redeeming God is not dissociated from the Creating God. Redemption is for the creation. Christ's Saviourhood is no longer narrowed and individualised. The atonement is known to affect the whole of social and national life, and Christ is Lord of all. The Holy Spirit is active in the world, not to guide pilgrims through this weary land of life, but joyously to claim and transform individual, communal and international relationships, and prepare the earth for its Bridal Day. When the context and full-bodied thrill of the redemption are missing from the church's testimony, what wonder is it that there will be those who reject its message in the name of truth and compassion? I am convinced that with Cunninghame Graham it was not a matter of the will proving unequal/

unequal to the understanding. He could not see the relevance of the church's life and gospel to those things which the Holy Spirit secretly laid upon his soul.

He was by so much an impoverished witness for righteousness. The sense he had of life's futility went deep, and continually placed a query mark against his battle for the right. That his life was dedicated was not enough. It needed to be baptised into a full, Trinitarian faith. Only thus could it have the context of a comprehending purpose, gain a larger perspective, and shuffle off the mortal coil of its agnosticism. He needed to know the persistent love of the Father for His creation, and the effective deliverance accomplished by the Son. It was ^{this} appropriation, in terms of a conclusive, overarching, inalienable declaration of significance for men, that he sought all his life.

This deprivation is relevant, too, to his social outlook. A full Trinitarian outlook would have given it yet more substance. For the primary society from which our hope derives, is neither the earthly nor the heavenly Jerusalem. It is not the church. The primary society from which our hope derives is the Trinity.

Appreciation and Thanksgiving.

In his introduction to a biography of his friend William Morris, Cunninghame Graham observes " . . . to read Morris and never to have known the man is to lose half of him." Never to have known the man - that is my impoverishment in his own case. I hope there have been compensations. A dominating personal impression may obscure one's judgment and hide faults or graces of character. There are gains in my disadvantage. Here is one instance. I find people on encountering him, divided on the question whether his aloofness pointed to personal arrogance. A comprehensive study leaves no doubt on the matter. In different places he explicitly acknowledges the severe limitation of his artistic, literary, and political judgments. His humility is a most striking characteristic of one who must have been a very loveable, though not always accessible personality.

Striking, too, is his conclusion that living is the chief art of existence. In his "Contemporary Scottish Studies" C.M.Grieve voices the opinion that a central tie-beam is wanting in his manifold thinking, writing and action. In one way this might be answered in terms of his intentional policy of diminishing in social and political activity in order that working-class people might increase, or his reverence before genuine religious experiences which he could not share - he deliberately left ends loose. It might be answered in terms of his lack of a full Trinitarian faith.

But it might also be answered in terms of his approach to living. Hudson wrote to him (on November 28th., prob. 1897): "To my sick soul your life seems almost too full, your activities too many and great, your range on this planet too wide." A man so various cannot easily be tied together. One of the reasons for the neglect of his life by encyclopaedias and similar books of reference, is his unclassifiable character. He was too many things to be placed in any pigeonhole. The detriment is to our encyclopaedias. Is this large-handed squandering of life and gifts a defect? In the Introduction to his selection of Tennyson's poems, W.H. Auden writes: ". . trash is the inevitable result whenever a person tries to do for himself or for others by the writing of poetry, what can only be done in some other way, by action, or study, or prayer." What, in the end, should a man do with life if not live it to the full, nobly, generously? Cunninghame Graham's life is the sufficient tie-beam. He is like the person he envisages in his book "Hope", who, not in writing, neither in speaking, nor yet in his profession, but in himself excels.

I can offer but thanksgiving for this man of the single eye, whose simplicity of vision has shed so much light; for this venturing being, who was so fearless in implementing his convictions; for this humble child who took spontaneous delight in ordinary human beings as if he discerned that of such was the Kingdom.

Born out of due time? the phrase is the last refuge of the hackneyed mind. Such as he will always find time ripe for their advent.

To you, then, R.B. Cunninghame Graham, Knight of the Spirit, I offer sincere gratitude. Los muertos abren los ojos a los que viven. I am pupil and debtor.

APPENDIX I. THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY: TRAFALGAR SQUIRE.

The famous incident which took place on Bloody Sunday, 13th. November 1887, forms a testimony to Cunninghame Graham's concern for democratic liberties and justice. For this reason it would seem worthy of special attention, as also because many accounts of it are misleading or inaccurate at certain points.^{1.}

At this time, with London as the focal point, freedom of speech in Britain was in genuine danger. The numerous unemployed, prompted in particular by the Social Democratic Federation of H.M. Hyndman, called the attention of the public and the churches,² to their misery in demonstrations and rallies. People with shops and property in London became afraid of revolution. The police force was under a more military discipline, and instigated scenes of disorder in order to foster a spurious indignation on the part of those who had a stake in society, and to suppress turbulence more rigorously. Socialist and Salvationist meetings were continually broken up by the police, so that Cunninghame Graham could say in the House, "we are getting to an almost Russian pitch of freedom!"^{3.} The Liberal party was too concerned about the party capital which could be made out of coercion in Ireland, to take action about coercion in Britain. A Mr. Robertson, speaking at a meeting in Cumnock, at which Cunninghame Graham was being presented with an illuminated address, likened the government, in their disregard for rights of free speech, to a drunk engineer who sat on the safety valve.

The/

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1. This is understandable since so few have had access to the information carefully gathered in Scrap Books.
 2. They invaded prominent churches, including St. Paul's Cathedral, to ask if Christianity had any word for their distress.
 3. May 12th., 1887. Hansard.

The bare bones of the incident are as follows. A demonstration had been arranged, to take place in Trafalgar Square on the day in question, to protest against the imprisonment of William O'Brien, an Irish Nationalist. The opposition of the police to previous meetings there had ended in clashes with demonstrators. Sir Charles Warren, the Chief of Police, banned the meeting. Many Radical groups determined to defy the ban, and formed into processions to march into the Square. Police with instructions to break up processions were posted all along the route and were massed in the centre of the Square. The Life Guards were called out, in case of need. Most of the marching columns were dispersed, but Cunninghame Graham and John Burns headed one which almost reached Nelson's Column. Both were taken prisoner, the former being injured in the head by a truncheon or sword. They were released on bail, and two months later were sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment.

The main questions, relating to Cunninghame Graham's social attitude, which are not clearly dealt with in published accounts, are these. What impulse led him to come from the Black Country to take part in this demonstration - bravado, a love of the flamboyant, a longing for the limelight or some more serious motive? Did he go as a Socialist? Had he some form of martyr-complex - did he incite the police to assault him? Did he seek privileges as a prisoner beyond those accorded to others? What was the justice of the sentence, and how did he receive it? Did he make political capital out of the result?/

result? Was the whole affair irresponsible, or was a genuine threat to free speech involved? Was anything achieved in the end?

In the invaluable Scrap-book in which are preserved voluminous newspaper cuttings of the incident, views of newspapers hostile¹ and favourable to him are contained. It is possible from them to get a detailed picture.

The pro-government point of view was that the meeting was being held, not in support of O'Brien, but to defy the ban on dangerous assemblages and to intimidate the authorities. An important point is that this demonstration was described as an illegal, dangerous assemblage in advance. Gabrielle Cunningham Graham described how she read out the "Morning Post's" intimation of the ban, saying she was sure not one M.P. would be present to protest - and how her husband immediately decided that at least one M.P. must be there. In a speech at Aberdeen, Cunningham Graham adds to this that he sent an advertisement openly to the London press to intimate that he would address the people in Trafalgar Square at the date and time in question. The demonstration would appear to be a mixture - partly a continuation of demonstrations by the underprivileged² to call attention to their distress, partly a rally in support of O'Brien, partly an assertion of the right to meet in Trafalgar Square. Cunningham Graham's reaction was impulsive but quite open, and explicit in its motive. He/

1. One likens him to Dickens' idiot agitator (Barnaby Rudge); another speaks of "his passion for notoriety".

2. Howard Vincent, M.P., states in the Press that 80 out of every 100 week-day demonstrators were honest working men made turbulent by want, not rowdies.

He was prepared publicly to take his stand with the underprivileged, for free speech and against what he believed to be unjust interference with their rights.¹

In an interview, he stated that he did not attend as a sympathiser with the Socialists but to support the resolution anent O'Brien. That this was not to be taken as definitive of his political position, he makes clear in a letter to the Editors of the "Christian Socialist", who queried him about the statement. He says:

"I intended to imply I went to Trafalgar Square simply to assert the right of free speech and not as a Socialist or a Radical; and I should have done the same thing had the meeting been one of the Primrose League."²

The question of his incitement of the Police is principally answered by the fact that the police evidence for this at the trial was accounted quite untrustworthy and set aside. His own words seem true: "I simply stood quiet to be murdered, and almost was..."³. His quiet acceptance of the result was without self-pity.

He was privileged to be allowed out on bail, and to have a much lighter sentence than other unfortunates who were arrested - but this was not by his choice. Where his own choice was involved he asked no favours, wearing prison garb, picking a pound of oakum per day and eating skilly. The Pall Mall Gazette reported word of a proposed petition intended to get him treated as a "first-class demanant". Gabrielle effectively squashed the proposal on the grounds that it would be quite against her husband's mind to take this/

1. In a speech at Gartmore afterwards he says, correctly: "...it is now admitted upon all sides that Sir Charles Warren had as much right to issue that proclamation as he had to hang the Prince of Wales."
2. Undated.
3. Letter to "Labour Tribune" dated Nov. 16th., 1887.

this advantage of his superior social position.

It is she, too, who, addressing her husband's constituents reminds her audience that others involved had received sentences of from six months to 5 years on the same ~~per~~jured police evidence as had broken down at the trial. This denial of justice seems to be more clearly in her mind than the injustice of her husband's sentence. In no sense could the verdict be called fair. None of the police was charged with perjury though their evidence was treated as perjured: and no damages were awarded to Cunninghame Graham. Burns and he were acquitted on the two main serious counts of riot and assaulting the police. The foreman of the jury¹, in a letter to the press, says the jury were "struck with surprise on hearing so heavy a sentence" as that which was passed. They had expected a nominal sentence. It would appear that Cunninghame Graham simply accepted the sentence in the conviction that the bearing of suffering caused through injustice is one way of dealing with injustice.

He lost caste in the House afterwards. By many he was obviously treated as a dangerous eccentric, and not given a fair hearing. He certainly did not advance his political career by this means.

My own conclusion is that he saw a larger threat to free speech summed up in the banning of this Trafalgar Square demonstration. On many occasions he insists that if freedom of speech is denied in one place/

1. He appears to have been a shop or warehouse proprietor - J. Mann, 24, 26 & 28 Jewin St., E.C.: not the kind of person one would expect to favour the defendants unduly.

place, it will be denied in others, and that the poor have a right to expose their needs to the country and to protest against injustice publicly. On this occasion he feels that one of the people's representatives in Parliament must take a stand. To Walter Crane he wrote, while on bail:

"You are right, in future the most well defined public rights will have to be clearly asserted or lost.

I am glad you think that liberty is worth preserving: remarkably few men who have enough to eat and drink seem to care for it."

The threat he saw is comprehended in the assertion in "The Times" that Trafalgar Square was a hereditary possession of the Crown, and the public had no rights except those allowed by the Crown.¹ The verdict at the trial meant that the public had no clear right of meeting anywhere. An adverse comment in an obviously right-wing paper about the "incendiary language" of the "pestilent print" (The Pall Mall Gazette) is heavily scored in pencil by Cunninghame Graham, as if to emphasise that the assault on freedom of meeting jeopardised also the kindred freedom of the Press. In a letter to "The Times" Sir Charles Warren made the involuntary admission: "Whilst in many cases he had received instructions apparently contrary to statute..."² It appears that liberty needed to be defended at this point and time.

The result of the whole matter appeared to be victory for autocracy/

1. Quoted in Prof. West's biography, p. 68.

2. The Home Secretary, Mr. Matthews, was thoroughly evasive on this matter when questioned by Cunninghame Graham in the House, saying that correspondence was confidential.

autocracy. But pressure continued. The Metropolitan Radical Federation¹ declared their support of the Opposition's candidates at the next election dependent on their personal attitude to the freeing of Trafalgar Square. After some time Sir Charles Warren was made a scapegoat and dismissed. The right of meeting in Trafalgar Square was recognised. For the constitutional² adjustment of society which was to follow, this was an important victory. It was through this kind of action that a more adequate form of democracy was established, without the revolutionary extremisms and antagonisms which marked social movements on the continent. The assertion of ethical considerations which were binding on all parties was to be characteristic of this forceful advance. It was in terms of these that Cunninghame Graham fought this fight.

1. Annie Besant, George Bernard Shaw and John Burns sat with Cunninghame Graham as members of its committee.

2. Cunninghame Graham adopted a consistently constitutional outlook from first to last.

APPENDIX II. RELATIONSHIP TO KEIR HARDIE.

Cunninghame Graham and Keir Hardie were friends and worked in partnership. This would have probably gained more recognition had it not been that Keir Hardie took the stage in national politics just as Cunninghame Graham was withdrawing from it. The former was the fomenter from below (with his paper "The Miner"), the latter from above (as the Miners' M.P.) of working class aspiration. The former was the secretary or member of committee of several political working-class associations which were chaired by the latter.

Clearly, in the 1880s, Hardie is the junior partner. He is not comparable in effectiveness on the platform. In a Scrap Book I find a newspaper report of a meeting connected with the Mid-Lanark election of 1888. It states that after Cunninghame Graham's

"... denunciation of most things that are, from the two Houses of Parliament down to the "pot-bellied manufacturers, the brief moralisings of H.H.Champion and Mr Keir Hardie which followed were tame and moderate by comparison."

The Mid-Lanark campaign in other ways illuminates the nature of their relationship at this time. Scrap Book insertions tell the tale. In a "Manifesto" regarding the coming contest, dated March 14th. 1888, Cunninghame Graham urges Liberals to choose a labour man, and proceeds:

"... I venture to recommend to the electors of Mid-Lanark, and especially to the miner classes, Mr. Keir Hardie as a fitting candidate. I do so because I am convinced of his honesty, and because I know, did your choice fall on him, that the House of Commons would be forced to listen to a working man, dealing with the labour question."

He writes to Dundee Radical Association thanking them for supporting

Keir Hardie's nomination. This kind of choice, he avers, is necessary if, in future, the claims of labour are to be taken seriously. It was the defeat of this nomination which produced the conference at Hamilton, over which Cunningham Graham presided, which resulted in the formation of electoral associations for Lanarkshire, under Cunningham Graham's chairmanship.

On October 25th. 1890, Cunningham Graham writes in "The Peoples Press" commending to working men those who know the British working man; and with John Burns, Tom Mann, Ben Tillett and McHugh of Glasgow he mentions Keir Hardie. At this time he is Keir Hardie's advocate, exercising that "high perception of the remarkable" in men, of which Richard Curle speaks in his edited Letters of W.H. Hudson (which elsewhere enabled him to recognise the genius of Conrad, Hudson himself, Tschiffely and others, when it still flowered in obscurity). Opportunely he commends Hardie, and brings him forward, finding kinship in his enthusiasm, his bluntness, his empiricism, his sympathy for men; sharing with him convictions about the structure of society and the remedies which need to be applied; discerning from afar his capacity to forward a genuinely working-class movement.

On September 20th. of the same year, Cunningham Graham speaks in "The People's Press" of the victory of the new unions over the old unions at the T.U.C. He speaks of Keir Hardie as of one who has "... dwelt so long in the cold shades of opposition, and has fought so stoutly in the shades the battle which Burns and Mann have fought in public". Hardie is just beginning to make his presence felt on a larger platform.

A letter to the same periodical from John Ferguson, dated May 31st.,
S.
1890, refers to Keir Hardie's/West Ham candidature. He states:

"Keir Hardie is loyal to the Liberal party so far as that 'bourgeois party' will tolerate loyalty to the Labour Party. . . (yet) he would fight tyranny under the name of Liberalism, as the Irish Home Rulers did for ten years in Ireland till it became real Liberalism.
Ask Cunninghame Graham . . . "

The letter suggests that Hardie was still a Lib.-Lab. when Cunninghame Graham was urging workman to form a new party: and it indicates that his place in the labour movement was naturally referred to Cunninghame Graham for support.

To bring forward working men of capacity and integrity like Keir Hardie was Cunninghame Graham's aim. When he had done so, he continued to encourage, support and speak for them. He did not wish or attempt to contend with them for leadership.

Both men made a contribution to the formation of the Labour Party, which, in its main impetus, was brief in time, but most significant in quality. Keir Hardie was able to bring together the forces which joined in the Labour Representation Committee as Cunninghame Graham never could. But Cunninghame Graham laid foundations to be built on; in Parliament and by outside organisation and agitation, by practical, new-minted programmes and personal championship, in some cases with Keir Hardie, in others before him. When Hardie stung the House to fury by his forthright antagonism of the claims of the relatives of the 260 lost in the Cilfynydd pit disaster, he was simply taking over where Cunninghame Graham left off.

Cunninghame Graham and Keir Hardie between them pioneered Socialism in Britain and founded the British Labour Party.

APPENDIX III. SCOTTISH NATIONALISM.

In the last part of a life still manifold in literary, travel, and artistic interests, wide-ranging in its communication with people all over the world, Cunninghame Graham's attention turned, in full flood, on Scottish Nationalism. As a Scottish Nationalist he narrowly lost the Glasgow Rectorial Election to Stanley Baldwin in October 1928. From then on he was an exponent of the movement in gatherings at Stirling and Elderslie, on the platform, and in print. The stand he took was on these grounds:

1. Scotland was a distinctive nation. Her culture was suffering from her being treated as "a mere appendage to the predominant partner", "a mere county of England"¹:

"We want a renaissance, a rebirth of Scottish Literature art and sentiment. We can induce these things only by agitating for national self-government."¹.

2. That the old Scottish Parliament was a mere court of law was an affront to the nation's respect, and to reason. Its form, with Lords, Commons and Clergy in one House was better than that of the British Parliament: and its acts were short and understandable in comparison. A national Parliament was the right of Scotsmen, filched away by fraud: Scotsmen would prefer to be ill-governed by their own folk who understood them, than be better governed by intruders. A Scottish Parliament needed to be restored. ².

1. From "Scotland's Day", supplement to "The Scots Independent".

2. Pamphlet, "Self-Government for Scotland"; cf. "Notes on the District of Menteith", where he says Scots would prefer to have taxes wasted in Edinburgh rather than in London.

3. Scotland was not dependent on England for its prosperity. Historically, Scotland had merely shared in the rising prosperity of Europe. Rather the partnership had proved detrimental to her. Her shipyards were paralysed, the factories were closed, industries were drifting southwards, railways and commercial enterprises were managed in London, the Highlands were a sporting desert. No party in Westminster gave Scotland its due. ^{1.}

4. " . . the Union was brought about by bribery, chicane and wire-pulling ",
"at least a half of Scotland was opposed to it" :
"Had I lived in the time of the Union with England I would have resisted it to the best of my ability with Fletcher of Saltoun, and had it gone to arms, I would have been beside the Scottish patriots." ^{2.}

Scotland's present position was reached probably not by "the fault of Englishmen but by our own apathy". ^{2.} In arousing Scotsmen, Cunningham Graham was never anti-English, and he appealed to their idealism rather than to material advantage.

His personal opinion of the programme which should be adopted was stated at the Wallace Commemoration at Elderslie on the 627th. anniversary of Wallace's death. The first step would be to repeal the Union and make a solemn declaration of Scottish sovereignty. There should follow a General election, members of the Scottish Parliament being elected on a basis of manhood suffrage, with Peers on the same footing as others. If an Imperial Parliament were in being Scots representatives should sit in it. Scotland would have her own Territorial Force, and ships to protect her fisheries; and her own coinage and stamps, with power to send ambassadors to other countries (as with Eire). She would institute

1. "The Awakening of a Nation" in "The Scots Independent", October, 1932.
2. "Scotland's Day"; Supplement to "The Scots Independent".

her own fiscal system. There would be a Coronation in Edinburgh as well as in London; and if there were a Viceregency, a member of the Royal Family would take up permanent residence in Edinburgh.

After being President of the Scottish Home Rule Association, he became President of its successor, the National Party of Scotland, in 1928. He was a prime mover in the fusion of the National Party with the Scottish Party in 1934, and was made Honorary President of the Scottish National Party which resulted.

I think this phase of his life can best be understood in the light of certain characteristic features.

He had a romantic love of challenge. Dr. John MacCormick has described the occasion of his meeting with the students who supported his candidature in the Glasgow Rectorial Election. They had no funds, and represented a forlorn hope. Having no financial means of hiring halls, they audaciously took over the platforms of their opponents. It was a situation which called out a full response of imagination and oratory from Cunninghame Graham. When the movement went on in strength, it was still forlorn enough in its prospects and audacious enough in its method to carry his full cooperation to the end of his life.

He had a bulldog grip on injustices which required remedying. Long before the I.L.P. adopted Home Rule as part of its programme, Cunninghame Graham had it in his. At times it seemed more, at times less important. But from first to last it was there as a personal conviction never to be erased.

Though I consider that Tschiffely does not have the whole story, there is some truth in his contention that Cunninghame Graham felt less enthusiasm for a movement once it was established and ready to settle

into an institutional form, with all the small personal failings of men writ large in it. Scottish Nationalism had not reached this stage ere his death.

He saw no conflict between nationalism and internationalism. Supporting W. Oliver Brown's Scottish Nationalist candidature in the East Renfrew election, he stated in a speech on the day before the poll: "Personally, he was an Internationalist, but they could not have true Internationalism, unless, firstly, they had Nationalism well developed."

Of his speech at the P.E.N. Congress of 1934, William Power wrote in his book "Should Auld Acquaintance": "The Scotland of my dreams lived in the golden moments of his brave and beautiful utterance." The genuineness of the Scottish Renaissance which derives from this time, must surely owe something to the promptings of such a cultured and realistic mind as was his. Again it was William Power who said, in a funeral oration: "Scotland for him was not an old song ended, but a new song for the Lord".

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